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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Cooperation Parley Becomes 'Propaganda Event' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Dec]* 1

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Leaders Appeal for Quicker Russian Withdrawal *[BNS]* 2
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Jan 2

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Yeltsin Invites Kravchuk to Meeting With Clinton *[INTERFAX]* 4
Deputy Foreign Minister Views Relations With Ukraine *[INTERFAX]* 4
Zhirinovskiy Comments on Relations With Neighbors *[Paris TV]* 4
Denies Planning Aggression Against West *[Cologne TV]* 5
Dutch Company Employee Confirms Donation to Zhirinovskiy
[Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT 31 Dec] 6
Central Bank on 'Illegal Activities' *[Amsterdam HET FINANCIEELE DAGBLAD 3 Jan]* 7
Financing May Cost LDPR Duma Seats *[SEGODNYA 4 Jan]* 7
Further on Funding Allegations *[PRAVDA 4 Jan]* 8
Action Urged To Protect Citizens Living Outside Borders *[IZVESTIYA 4 Jan]* 8
Agreement Eases Migration for Citizens in Turkmenistan *[IZVESTIYA 4 Jan]* 9
Diplomat Dismisses Comments by Lithuania's Landsbergis *[INTERFAX]* 10
Army Commander, Delegation Arrive in India *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Provisions of New Cryogenic Deal With India Outlined *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 Jan]* 11
COCOM Ban on Semiconductor Sales 'Very Strange Step' *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 Jan]* 11
Economic Zone To Be Set Up on Chinese Border *[ITAR-TASS]* 12

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Media Issues

Duma's Opening Session To Be Governed by Interim Document *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
Major Factions Fail To Agree on Duma Speaker *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Jan]* 13
Validity of Final Election Results Questioned *[PRAVDA 4 Jan]* 13
Television Reports Opinion Poll on Zhirinovskiy *[Moscow TV]* 14
'Fears' Among Moscow Jews After Recent Fires *[AFP]* 15
Sobchak, Baskayev, Rutskoy Interviewed *[INTERFAX]* 15
Antifascist Front Called 'Perfidious Scheme' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Jan]* 19
Yavlinskiy Denies Rumors of Government Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
Yeltsin Wins 'Man of 1993' Poll in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
'National Unity' Leader Under Guard After Shooting *[PRAVDA 4 Jan]* 21
ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Publication Plans for 1994 *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 Jan]* 21
Editors Threaten Strike To Protest Costs *[ITAR-TASS]* 22
'Utro' Program Discusses Edict on Media *[Moscow TV]* 22

Economic Issues

Power Industry Functions Smoothly Despite Financial Crisis *[Moscow TV]* 23
Fedorov Warns of 'Ukrainianization' if Reforms End *[IZVESTIYA 31 Dec]* 24
Economic Stabilization Seen Unlikely in 1994 *[PRAVDA 4 Jan]* 26
Poll on Russians' View of Economic Situation Assessed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Jan]* 26

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Karelia Territories *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Tatarstan President Issues New Year's Greetings *[ITAR-TASS]* 27
Electoral Commission Schedules New Elections 27
Decree on Tatarstan *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Dec]* 27
Decree on Chelyabinsk *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Dec]* 28
Decree on Yamalo-Nenetskiy District *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Dec]* 28
Dzasokhov Withdraws From North Ossetia Election Campaign *[ITAR-TASS]* 28
North Ossetia, Center Disagree Over Fulfilling Decisions *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Jan]* 29
Attacks Continue in North Ossetia *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
New Election Campaign Begins in Chuvashia *[ITAR-TASS]* 29
Amur Oblast Local Government Reform Examined *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Dec]* 29
Chechen Clans Postpone Congress 'To Avoid Bloodshed' *[INTERFAX]* 30

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kiev 'Ready' To Swap Warheads for Nuclear Fuel *[Moscow TV]* 31
Defense Ministry To Replace Peacekeeping Units in Bosnia *[Kiev Radio]* 31

National Affairs

Present Leadership Push for Supreme Council Elections *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 4 Jan]* 31
Kravchuk, Cabinet Meet To Discuss Economic Issues *[Kiev TV]* 31
Kravchuk Decree Orders Privatization of Gas Stations *[Kiev International]* 32
Plyushch Decrees Inquiry Into Activity of Steamship Company *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 30 Dec]* 32
Parliament Vetoes Presidential Edict on Company *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 30 Dec]* 32
Kuchma, Hrynyov Call For Strong Rapport With Russia *[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI 24 Dec]* 33
Interior Ministry Appeals to Citizens To Fight Corruption *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Electoral Commission Registers Liberal Democratic Party *[UNIAN]* 34
More on Registering Parties *[UNIAN]* 34
Former Defense Minister Confirms Decision To Run *[VECHIRNIY KYYIV 25 Dec]* 34
Organization Demands Measures Against Crimean Elections *[NARODNA HAZETA Dec]* 35
Prospects for Electoral Bloc of National Democrats Viewed *[UKRAYINA MOLODA 28 Dec]* 35
Balance of Forces in 'Democratic' Electoral Bloc Viewed
[UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY 30 Dec] 36
Lvov Oblast Council Bans 'Subversive' Communist Party *[KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 28 Dec]* ... 37
Civil Congress Urges 'Close' Union Within CIS Framework
[KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 28 Dec] 37
Nationalists Say 'National Dictatorship' Only Solution *[RIVNE 25 Dec]* 38
Association Professes National Expansion, Nuclear Status *[NESKORENA NATSIYA Dec]* 38
Activist Lists Achievements of Army Trade Union *[UKRAYINSKI OBRIYI Dec]* 39

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich Signs CIS Security Treaty *[INTERFAX]* 41
'Second Stage' of Reform To Reduce Army to 100,000 *[Minsk Radio]* 41
Defense Ministry on Reductions *[Minsk Radio]* 41
Prime Minister Signs Agreement on Russian Gas Deliveries *[BELAPAN]* 41

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Government Introduces Emergency Measures To Curb Inflation *[Radio Rossii]* 42
Central Election Commission Issues Decree on Elections *[Almaty Radio]* 42

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Gives New Year's Address *[Moscow Radio]* 42
Premier Addresses Government Presidium Session *[Bishkek Radio]* 42
Social Democrats Request Help for Russian-Speaking Citizens *[Moscow Radio]* 43
Academy of Sciences Head Urges Support for Akayev *[Bishkek Radio]* 43

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Delivers New Year's Message *[Dushanbe Radio]* 43
Supreme Soviet Officials Meet With Dostam Representatives *[Dushanbe Radio]* 44
Chinese Envoy on PRC-Tajik Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Government Approves International Space Center's Establishment *[Moscow Radio]* 44

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Attacks by Azerbaijani Units Said Blocked *[Yerevan Radio]* 46
Prime Minister Heads Delegation to Moscow *[Yerevan Radio]* 46
President Raises Minimum Wage, Pensions *[Yerevan Radio]* 46
New Food, Service Prices Fixed on 4 Jan *[Yerevan Radio]* 46
Communists Call For Unity With Russia *[SNARK]* 46

Azerbaijan

Armenian Army Supplied With Artillery in Karabakh *[TURAN]* 46
Aliyev's New Year's Message Reported *[Baku Radio]* 47
Further on Message *[TURAN]* 48
Aliyev, Russian Commander Discuss Security *[TURAN]* 48
Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan To Make Joint Appeal *[Baku TV]* 48

Georgia

Patsatsia's New Year's Address Read on TV *[Tbilisi TV]* 48
NDP Leader Views Shevardnadze's 'Mistakes' *[LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO 17 Dec]* 49
Use of Own Energy Resources Planned in 1994 *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Enterprises 'Panicked' Over Banknote Rumor *[ITAR-TASS]* 51

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Parliament Reacts to Yeltsin's Statement *[AFP]* 52
Meri Expresses Concern *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 52
Russia To Remove All Nuclear Fuel by 30 Jun *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 52
Colonel Sent To Promote Withdrawal *[BNS]* 52
Faction Meets To Discuss Cabinet Changes *[BNS]* 53
Business Groups Protest *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 53
Polls Show Majority Favoring Prewar Borders *[BNS]* 53
Laar Notes 'Considerable Progress' in 1993 *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 53
Increased Number of Businesses Reported *[BNS]* 54
Ministry Reviews Economic Developments, Needs *[BNS]* 54
New System of Taxes Becomes Effective 1 Jan *[BNS]* 54

Latvia

Russian Military Facilities Returned *[Riga Radio]* 55
Danish Minister Arrives, Meets Pavlovskis *[Riga Radio]* 55
Signs Cooperation Agreement *[Riga Radio]* 55

Lithuania

Brazauskas on Foreign Policy in 1994 *[ITAR-TASS]* 55
Interviewed on Russian Policy *[RESPUBLIKA 22 Dec]* 56
Opinion Poll Accords Brazauskas Highest Rating *[BNS]* 57
President Comments on Poll *[KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 25 Dec]* 57
President Notes 1993 Events, 'Numerous Problems' *[BNS]* 58
Prime Minister Interviewed on LDDP Policies *[RESPUBLIKA 21 Dec]* 58
Russian Lucoil Continues To Be Principal Partner *[BNS]* 59

Baltic Cooperation Parley Becomes 'Propaganda Event'

PM3012115193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 3

[Captain First Rank Valeriy Gromak report: "Drowned in a Sea of Propaganda"]

[Text] The Baltic Institute for Strategic and International Studies has held a conference in Tallinn on the problem of "Baltic Cooperation and Security." Delegates from 16 countries took part. Seven NATO representatives, headed by Brigadier General Tom Lennon, deputy chief of the joint program of miltary contacts under the U.S. Armed Forces Headquarters, Europe, were at the conference. Also invited were the ambassadors to Estonia of the FRG, Finland, and Norway. They "forgot" to invite the Russian ambassador.

The two days at the conference were spent talking about Zhirinovskiy's victory—this was how one participant, in conversation with myself, aptly described what happened in Tallinn. The discussion of the problems of cooperation in the Baltic region was exploited by the representatives of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania for one purpose—to describe the current situation in Russia in the gloomiest tones and to try (yet again) to get accepted as members of this bloc as quickly as possible by putting pressure on representatives of the North Atlantic bloc.

In my view, a conference on a very important issue was transformed through the efforts of its organizers into a purely propaganda event, and only the speech of Vice Admiral Viktor Kravchenko, first deputy commander of the Baltic Fleet, infused a fresh spirit into it, since his speech contained specific proposals on the organization of cooperation in the Baltic Sea.

Unfortunately, the proposals of the Russian military were supported only in the lobbies. From the rostrum Estonian Defense Minister Juri Luik expressed support for the creation of a unified concept of security of the Baltic countries, at the same time suggesting Russia as the adversary. He called for the creation of a military-political alliance of the Baltic states without Russia's participation, but incorporating Ukraine as "the main guarantor of opposition to Moscow's imperial policy."

Judging by the speeches of the Estonian defense minster and other representatives of the Baltic countries, the leaders of these states are trying to create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust around Russia in a cold war spirit.

Baltic Leaders Appeal for Quicker Russian Withdrawal

WS0301172294 Tallinn BNS in English 1025 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 03, BNS—The three Baltic presidents—Lennart Meri of Estonia, Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia and Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania—called on international efforts to speed the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia in their New Year's joint appeal.

The full text of the appeal follows: 1993 was a year of tremendous progress for all three Baltic countries. The last Russian troops were withdrawn from Lithuania and some units were removed from Estonia and Latvia as well. All three countries made enormous political progress strengthening themselves at home through open, fair and free elections at various levels and their ties with foreign countries through skillful and active diplomacy. And all three countries made important strides in the difficult process of economic recovery.

But the year ahead promises to be an even more fateful one. During 1994 critical decision will be made and important steps taken that will determine the future of the entire region. Consequently as we look back to what we have achieved in the past year with pride, we must nonetheless be fully conscious of how much work still lies ahead, specifically:

- we call on all on all Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians to work together to build on the political and economic achievements of the past,

- we call on the Baltic peoples to continue their efforts to promote peace and stability throughout the region, and

- we call on Russian President Boris Yeltsin not to remove from his commitment to complete the final withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia in 1994, and on the nations of the world to continue their efforts to promote this outcome.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Jan

LD0401064794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0549 GMT 4 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Today's newspapers focus on the results of the past year, prospects for the development of the political and economic situation in the Russian Federation and the possible distribution of forces and blocs in the new Russian parliament.

The NESAVISIMAYA GAZETA daily reports about a regular round of talks between representatives of major factions in the state duma and a candidacy for its chairman. Mikhail Lapshin, leader of the Agrarian Party, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that if "no consensus is reached on the nomination of a candidate to the post of the duma speaker satisfying to all, then deputies' votes will have to be counted." The newspaper says that this is precisely what leaders of each of the factions will have to do, with this procedure expected to be especially painful for the "Russia's Choice" bloc since it will obviously lack its own votes to overweight the votes of the Agrarian Party, the Russian Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The results of the elections to the new Russian Parliament held on December 12 and the victory of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky was regarded by many people as a threat posed by Russian fascism, says an article published by the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. According to the newspaper, the "Russia's Choice" bloc, having spent twice as much as the Liberal Democratic Party and having bought much more air time on television than the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, has lost to Zhirinovsky the elections by party blocs and managed to level the situation thanks to those constituencies which cast ballots for individual candidates rather than for party blocs."

"All this gives ground to believe that by doing so Russian electors, in fact, have denied confidence to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the government which after the elections becomes the government of the minority," the article says. Acording to the article, millions of electors voted not for fascism or fascists, but rather for clear-cut politics".

Forecasting the development of the situation in the new Russian Parliament, the article says that "at present, representatives of some parties and blocs renounced cooperation with the Liberal Democratic Party which is "fraught with destabilisation in parliament and sharp increase of the role and powers of the president."

As for economic problems, the article says that neither of political parties which won seats in parliament has a clear-cut and comprehensive economic programme and one can say with certainty that neither the state duma, nor the federation council will deal with the economics now, leaving it for the government to attend to."

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA daily carries an intreview with ex-Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Commenting on the development of the economic situation in Russia, Gorbachev said that nowadays, Russia needs politics uniting people rather than splitting the country. As for the victory won in the elections by the Liberal Democratic Party, Gorbachev described its leader, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, as a splendid actor, adding that " it very important to fund out who directs him and who backs him up."

"Undoubtedly, his capabilities were appreciated and will be made use of in future, but I do not see the need for launching an anti- fascist movement in Russia. Are we going to accuse of fascism people who voted for Zhirinovsky? By the way, the Constitution would not have been approved without these people's votes," Gorbachev said.

An article published by the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA today also denies that there is a need to create the so-called "anti-fascist front". The article says that the idea of creating

this front is obviously directed against "triumphant elections held by the Liberal Democratic Party led by Zhirinovsky, and, consequently, against the free will of electors which makes up the basis of democracy."

The TRUD daily focuses on the results of 1993 discussed from different points of view by prominent Russian philosopher Alexander Tsipko and an economist and state duma deputy, Vasily Selyunin. Tsipko pointed out that in 1993 he was disappointed in what was going on in Russia, adding that "neither the truth, no democracy and the market itself were any good to a Soviet man."

Selyunin expressed a different opinion, pointing out that in 1993, an end was put to dual power in Russia and the living standards began to gradually improve which is seen from the fact that the consumption of food has increased approximately by ten per cent. "We have saved our economy which many former soviet republics failed to do," Selyunin said.

The PRAVDA daily writes in its economic forecast for 1994 that the living standards of the population will further decline. "In 1994, approximately 33 per cent of the Russian people will have an average income per capita less than the minimum subsistence level," the newspaper said.

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper published the results of a sociological poll. The majority of respondents believe that life has stabilised and 13 per cent of respondents even said that their life improved over the past year.

Yeltsin Invites Kravchuk to Meeting With Clinton

LD0401135094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Well informed sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry told Interfax that Russian President Boris Yeltsin had sent an invitation to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to come to Moscow to participate in his meeting with U.S. president Bill Clinton.

The Russian-American summit is known to be scheduled for January 12-15.

"Now it is difficult to say whether the Moscow summit will become a tripartite one," a top-ranking official said during his conversation with Interfax. He explained that much would depend upon Kravchuk's position. "The reason for his presence in Moscow is to reconfirm all commitments taken by Ukraine without any exception," he underlined.

As the diplomat said, it means that Ukraine must confirm its adherence to the START-1 Treaty and guarantee its joining the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] as a non-nuclear state. "Any reservations or provisions set forth by the Ukrainian parliament during the ratification of the START-1 treaty cannot be recognized as acceptable. Neither Russia, nor the United States would agree to this," said the diplomat.

He reiterated that President Kravchuk himself declared his intention to submit the START-1 Treaty to the country's new Supreme Soviet, to be elected March 27, for another ratification. "Nevertheless, there are many unclear aspects in Kiev's position. That is why one cannot say for sure that Kravchuk's visit to Moscow will take place," he indicated.

Deputy Foreign Minister Views Relations With Ukraine

LD0301122994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 3 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] In an interview with Interfax Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said he hoped that in 1994 problems in relations between Russia and Ukraine would be resolved, and that bilateral ties would develop on the basis of "friendliness and fraternity."

According to Lavrov, these problems, above all issues connected with the destiny of nuclear arms and the Black Sea Fleet, must not be dramatized. "We must not forget that a vast country with an enormous infrastructure disintegrated," he said. "As soon as the two major problems are resolved, onward movement will begin in all areas of relations between Russia and Ukraine."

Preconditions for resolving these problems were ensured when the Russian and Ukrainian Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk met in Massandra.

According to Interfax's interviewee, there are not only "sore" but also "healthy spots" in the Russian-Ukrainian relationship. At their meeting in Odessa held at the end of last year Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko agreed to cooperate in resolving problems connected with the further development of Eastern and Central Europe. "The Ukrainian side assured us that Kiev's initiatives on the ways to promote cooperation between local countries provide for Russia's participation, not exclusion," Lavrov said.

According to him, Russia is interested in cooperating with Ukraine and other CIS countries in international organizations. At the latest UN General Assembly session the 12 CIS states advanced, for the first time ever, joint initiatives concerning the ways to combat drug trafficking, terrorism and environmental pollution. "It is noteworthy that the resolution on monitoring environmental protection from space submitted by the CIS countries was adopted by consensus," Lavrov said.

Interfax's interviewee drew attention to the circumstance that participants at the Ashgabat summit held at the end of last year decided to jointly request the UN to grant the CIS the status of observer of the kind enjoyed by, say, the European Union or the Organization of African Unity.

As Lavrov said, this decision was taken unanimously. Ukraine alone stood aside. "Ukraine abstained. Kiev voiced doubts as to the CIS being an "organization." But this is a purely terminological dispute," Lavrov noted. "There should be no fears that the CIS is turning into some "supranational mechanism." From the point of view of international law the term "organization" does not reflect "supranationalism."

Zhirinovskiy Comments on Relations With Neighbors

LD0301220194 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, in Moscow, by Poivre d'Arvor in Paris—live]

[Excerpt] [D'Arvor] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's European tour was marked by scandal. Three weeks after his success in the elections, he was expelled from Bulgaria. He is persona non grata in Austria, and Germany refused him a visa. He subsequently threatened Germany with a third world war. We have with us live Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Good evening. It is hard to believe you when you say that you wish to crush Germany in a third world war when you come to power. Did you really say that?

[Zhirinovskiy] No. I wanted to visit Germany once again. I visited Germany previously, on four occasions, but I would like to say that if future events in Russia unfold as they do now, or as they do in the Balkans, or in some other parts of the world, a third world war may break out one day. I want to prevent this, I want to take measures now to prevent the risks of a new world war.

[D'Arvor] You seem to long for a Russia that would expand into a Great Russia. You say you wish to recover the Baltic states, Finland, and Poland. Where will your yearning for expansion stop?

[Zhirinovskiy] No expansion. On the contrary, we now have a situation where, for instance, Tajikistan and some Transcaucasian republics want to be with Russia once again. But I for one, together with my party, do not want this. We want the opposite. This is a recurrent lie. I say these countries should develop on their own as independent states, but I also say they will never be like independent states, because they joined Russia 200 years ago. This was always the tragedy of these peoples. They tell me they have no possibility of being [independent] states, now this is the same problem, always the tragedy of Tajiks, or of Georgians, of Armenians, of Azeris.

We are [word indistinct] here in Russia and I favor the pullout of all Russian troops back to Russia, to Moscow. You will see for yourself that a terrible war will start there between Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Iran. The same thing is happening now in Afghanistan, without a president, without a government, with gangs, with groups, with a commander or something similar.

This is not a state, this is not civilization. This is already a part of the third world war because there are millions and millions of people living there, and they are in a situation of civil war within their country, or in a state of war with other states: Armenia and Azerbaijan, Abkhazia and Georgia, Tajikistan and Afghanistan. This is already a part of the world war because it is a vast territory from India to Athens, to Serbia. It is larger than Europe during the World War II.

[D'Arvor] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, do you yourself wish to return to the former Great Russia, that of the tsars?

[Zhirinovskiy] I want to see our state within its historical borders, but not through violent means, only through economic means, through civilization, culture, law. For instance, if one day they want to return, if they call on us, and if you in the West, in Paris or in London, say we too will help these people to live, to remain alive, then perhaps can we take positive steps. However, now, we do not want them to come back within Russia, all the peoples from the south, from Tajikistan to Chisinau. We do not want this, my party and I are against this.

[D'Arvor] Does this include the Baltic states?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, the Baltic states too, but I say we must have economic relations. This does not mean constant aid for the Baltic states. If we stop selling our energy and mineral resources cheaply to the Baltic states, contrary to what we are doing now, their existence as independent states is over. I say: If I lead the Russian Government, we will immediately stop all economic aid to the Baltic states and to any other country. Trade yes, but pay, pay: Pay with hard currencies and no more economic aid. After that, the existence of the Baltic states as independent states is over.

[D'Arvor] I understand. When you say if I lead the Russian Government, does this mean that you wish to replace the current prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin?

[Zhirinovskiy] Could you repeat your question more slowly?

[D'Arvor] Do you wish to see the current prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, resign and hand over power to you?

[Zhirinovskiy] I believe that he will stay for a few months, but in March or April, we will have another prime minister. Our president, Mr. Yeltsin, wants to keep Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister and also some other ministers from the previous government. It is their ultimate mistake; if they make it, it will be over for this government in April, and we will have a government led not by myself—I know I said that I would lead the government—but by a more neutral person, perhaps from Siberia. He will lead the new Russian Government with new ministers, but Mr. Gaydar's team, with its conception of this economic reform that only brings negative results...[pauses] Programs must be changed, we need reforms, but through other programs. It is the same as medicine: You must have medication, but prescribed by another doctor. [passage omitted]

Denies Planning Aggression Against West

AU0401101494 Cologne RTL Television Network in German 2300 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, in Moscow, by Heiner Bremer in Cologne on 3 January—recorded; Zhirinovskiy speaks in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Bremer] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, a few days ago, you threatened Germany with World War III. Shortly before that, however, you celebrated the natural alliance between the Russians and the Germans. How are we Germans supposed to understand this contradiction?

[Zhirinovskiy] I think there should be the best possible relations between Russia and Germany. Germany should finally become a free country. The problem was that the German consul in Sofia canceled my entry visa. I have visited Germany four times already. I am a friend of the Germans. The consul made a political mistake and so has the German foreign minister. However, I differentiate between the German people and its officials. After all, they are around only for a limited period of time.

[Bremer] You not only threatened World War III, but you also announced that you would break off diplomatic relations and stop the withdrawal of Russian troops. You even want compensation for World War II. Mr. Zhirinovskiy, are you surprised that you are not very highly regarded in Germany, that Germany does not really want to have any dealings with you?

[Zhirinovskiy] I have a number of friends in Germany. These are mainly parties like the German People's Union and others. Millions of Germans support our policy of friendship and equal relations with Germany. As for reparation payments, this is not supposed to be an attack against Germany; but why did Germany pay compensation to the

Jews after World War II and not anything to the Russians? It was not the Jews but the Russians who were victorious over the German troops and marched into Berlin.

[Bremer] But, Mr. Zhirinovskiy, there is a difference between two nations fighting each other in a world war and one nation, namely the German one, doing severe injustice to another nation, namely the Jewish one.

[Zhirinovskiy] Well, let us not compare these two things then. We are not demanding anything; we do not insist on anything. But I ask myself: If the Russian troops withdraw from Germany, then why do the French, Americans, and British stay? All occupation forces have to leave Germany. The Germans want to be free. This includes the Germans' right to live free of foreigners. Why do the Germans constantly have to live with occupation forces? We want to help Germany. Let me put it this way: I declare my affection for Germany, I declare my friendship. But I see with concern that there are a number of problems in Germany. The Gypsies and Turks have a firm grip of the country. Millions of foreigners are disturbing the Germans' lives. It is they who disturb the Germans, not us. The Germans and the Russians are friends forever. And yet, I am refused an entry visa. This is absurd.

[Bremer] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, your answer shows that you should travel through Germany at your leisure, and maybe not only accompanied by your friend [German People's Union Chairman] Frey. It is, of course, nonsense to say that Germany is controlled by Turks and other foreigners. The Turks who have been living in Germany for a long time did a great deal of reconstruction work here. We are perfectly capable of tackling our country's problems by ourselves. Do you think that we should not look ahead, that we should continue the peace process, begun under your President Yeltsin, together, instead of bringing uncertainty into the relations by your radical demands?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not think so. I do not want to interfere with German affairs. It is simply a matter of good relations between Russia and Germany. We also have our own problems, which we will be able to solve without external interference. By no means are we planning any aggression toward the West.

Dutch Company Employee Confirms Donation to Zhirinovskiy

BR0401104694 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 31 Dec 93 p 1

[Article by Hans Faber and Peter de Waard: "Employee in Moscow Confirms Donation to Zhirinovskiy; Controversial Businessman Allegedly Supported Other Parties Too"]

[Text] Amsterdam, 31 Dec—Anton Nenachov, a Russian investment consultant and owner of the controversial, Amsterdam-based company Global Money Management Trust (GMM), donated money to ultra-right-wing Russian politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's electoral campaign. According to B. Van der Meer, one of Nenachov's employees, the donation amounted to roughly $50,000. Nenakov has admitted this to Van der Meert.

According to the Moscow office's Dutch employee, Nenachov also co-financed campaigns of other Russian political parties. "Nenachov also donated $50,000 to Gaydar, the democratic candidate," Van der Meer claims. "This is also true for the other important candidates."

He denies that the 27-year old Nenakov co-financed Zhirinovskiy's $800,000 campaign through his Netherlands companies. "There have not been any flows of money through Amsterdam," Van der Meer says. The Amsterdam-based GMM was discredited last Wednesday after the Russian newspaper SEGODNYA reported that Nenachov had sponsored Zhirinovskiy through this company.

According to the GMM staff member, Nenachov did not pay Zhirinovskiy on account of his political preference for an ultra- right-wing politician. "As an entrepreneur, you have to be pragmatic as far as politics are concerned. Nenachov has one political preference: money." According to Van der Meert, Nenachov made the payments in his capacity as a private individual."

Partly as a result of the fuss raised, the Economic Control Service [ECD] launched an investigation into GMM's activities and into its Russian manager-shareholder. The control service has already contacted De Nederlandsche Bank (DNB) about the case.

However, the central bank is not the formal authority entitled to give instructions to the ECD. This is the purview of the Finance Ministry, in close consultation with the central bank. The Finance Ministry said that it is still considering whether the ECD will be called in.

Nenachov's employee says he is "pleased" with the control service's investigation. "We will render our assistance. This way, we will be able to prove our innocence," Van der Meert says.

The ECD investigation will not focus on GMM's and Nenachov's political sympathies, but on possible economic offenses committed by the company, in contravention of Article 82 of the Law on the Inspection of Crediting. The DNB has recently sent a letter to GMM, in which the bank warned the company not to do any banking business. To that effect, the bank also invoked Article 82, which stipulates that non-banks and non-investment companies are not entitled to attract capital.

This article also forbids institutions established in the Netherlands to attract money from abroad. GMM is allegedly involved in large-scale money-raising operations in Russia. The company, which also has an office in Moscow, has daily commercials on Russian television.

GMM has already been in conflict with a Dutch institution on a previous occasion. Some three months ago, the ABN Amro discontinued its credit relationship with the company. The bank took offense to Nenakov's assertion in Russia that the GMM office in Moscow is an ABN Amro Russian subsidiary.

According to Van der Meer, "Nenachov is merely an enthusiastic Russian, who is not aware that you have to keep

strictly to the rules in the Netherlands. Things are quite different in Russia." In the Netherlands, GMM is banking with the U.S. Citibank.

The GMM case has embarrassed Nenachov's adviser, L. Gribling, a close assistant and employed by the accounting office Arenthals/Chaudron, has gone on vacation. The office issued a statement that it will break off its relation with Nenachov if "illegal practices" are revealed. Arenthals/Chaudron denies any involvement in the financing of Zhirinovskiy's campaign.

Central Bank on 'Illegal Activities'

BR0401104894 Amsterdam HET FINANCIEELE DAGBLAD in Dutch 3 Jan 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Russian Central Bank Warns Netherlands Assets Management Firm"]

[Text] Moscow—The Russian Central Bank yesterday issued a written warning against the Netherlands assets management firm GMM bv [Global Money Management, Inc.], which is principally active in the Russian market. The warning comes just days after the disclosure by SEGODNYA, the Russian daily, that GMM had financed the election campaign by ultra-nationalist Zhirinovskiy.

In a letter, the bank wrote that the illegal activities of GMM constitute a "direct threat to the interests of people who have entrusted the firm with their money."

GMM is operating illegally as it does not have a bank license. According to A. Nenachov, the Russian director and sole shareholder in the Netherlands bv, this is not necessary as GMM is a trust company. Russian law makes no provision for this kind of institution.

The Russian Finance Ministry issued an identical statement at the end of October, but this was not acted upon. The political allegations made by SEGODNYA shed new light on the affair. The only basis for this warning is that a member of Zhirinovskiy's liberal party, Aleksey Zoyjev, is an adviser to GMM.

The Russian daily SEGODNYA is financed by MOST bank, one of three commercial banks which supported the election campaign by Russia's Choice. Russia's Choice Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar unexpectedly lost to Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Party in the elections. Russia's Choice has been seeking an explanation for Zhirinovskiy's success ever since. After allegations that former members of the KGB financed and supported the Liberal Party, the GMM is now being used as a scapegoat.

Shortly before the elections, Russia's Choice was itself involved in a scandal. The U.S. marketing company Sawyer Miller Group produced advertising on Russian television for Gaydar's party. This was part of a privatization campaign conducted by Sawyer Miller with U.S. Government money. Instead of the usual slogan—"Your voucher, your choice"—Sawyer Miller broadcast an advertisement immediately before the elections with the slogan "Your choice, Russia's choice."

GMM's activities are scarcely any different than those of other Russian financial institutions which are earning large amounts of capital in Russia's economic climate of high inflation. The only grounds for criticism is that GMM presents itself as an experienced Netherlands player on stock exchanges in places such as Amsterdam, New York, and Tokyo. GMM, however, is not really involved in such activities, but such a claim relieves the firm of the obligation to apply for a bank license in Russia. The company is in fact an inactive "incorporated company" which was taken over and given new life by 27-year-old Muscovite Nenachov, who also set up Moscow's first federal bank.

This is the first time that one of the new capitalist institutions which flourished under Gaydar's influence has been involved in a political scandal. GMM's Moscow office is closed at the moment for the "New Year holidays."

Financing May Cost LDPR Duma Seats

MK0401104094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev report: "Zhirinovskiy's Party Vote May Be Annulled"]

[Text] It took the Russian Central Bank half a day to react to an article in SEGODNYA on Zhirinovskiy's being financed by GMM, a Dutch "trust" company carrying out illegal operations in Russia. The Central Bank has issued a press release confirming that GMM's operations are illegal and saying that its activity "jeopardizes the interests of citizens who have entrusted their savings to it." Curiously, repeated requests by the Foreign Ministry demanding that the Dutch company, which has been conducting purely banking operations in Russia without bothering to obtain any license, be properly dealt with have been stubbornly ignored by the Central Bank. Nor was Mr. Gerashchenko's office impressed by an entirely convincing article in IZVESTIYA on oddities in GMM's activity.

Obviously, it was the political context in which he has found himself owing to his friendship with GMM that impressed Mr. Gerashchenko so strongly in this particular case. Any unbiased observer can draw this fairly simple sequence of logical conclusions: the Central Bank chairman, whose position has been fairly shaky of late, has been covering the illegal activity of a company of financial black marketeers; the company finances the penetration into the parliament of deputies meeting its moral and political standards; subsequently, the deputies appoint Gerashchenko Central Bank chairman. The only inconvenience is that the paid deputies are Nazis of sorts. However, the stunning impudence such people tend to display on Russian soil has precluded their thinking that anyone might take a serious interest in this.

The behavior of Mr. Gerashchenko, whom Anton Nenakhov, chief of GMM's Moscow branch, was praising to the skies in the "Without Retouching" television program (at the same time fulminating against Finance Minister Boris Fedorov), is also very peculiar. Initially he covered the "trust" company's activity, allowing it to collect millions of dollars from the population, then, upon suddenly seeing the

light, he called it illegal, thus effectively assuring the bankruptcy of tens of thousands of investors. One cannot help getting a strange impression: What if this is a deliberately fabricated affair? Yet more indirect evidence is that the Central Bank, as far as I know, has not frozen GMM's accounts. Hence, investors' money can be siphoned away—according to its commercial—round the clock throughout the world.

The answer to a popular question of to whom one should address one's claims is simple—to the Central Bank and its chairman. Generally speaking, bureaucrats in a normal society would at least resign in similar circumstances.

Self-assurance prevented the hapless "businessmen" from noting that financing Nazis is seen as something extremely inappropriate in civilized countries. As a result, the Dutch Foreign Ministry has launched an investigation into the activity of GMM, which turned out to have had no right to engage in overseas trust operations under the legislation of Holland (which, unlike this country, does have a trust law). When asked by DE VOLLKSRANT, a Mr. Van de Meer, a GMM official in Amsterdam, said that GMM gave Zhirinovskiy as little as $50,000. He claims that the "trust" company also financed other "important" candidates, and that large amounts were handed to "Russia's Choice." Election campaign chiefs of "Russia's Choice" insist, however, that the bloc has not taken any money from either GMM or any other foreign companies.

According to the aforementioned Mr. Van de Meer, his chief, Nenakhov, personally supported a number of candidates as a private person, guided by his own preferences. Van de Meer sees this policy as reasonable. "Mr. Nenakhov has one single political preference, which is money," the official says. The ingenuity multiplied by his deliberate unscrupulousness may turn out to be not so "reasonable" as some Western partners tend to think, mistaking Russia for a banana republic. Under Russian laws, financing an election campaign of a candidate or a bloc from foreign sources may give grounds for annulling the votes cast for the candidates or blocs. Unless we are a banana republic indeed.

Further on Funding Allegations

PM0401105794 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Details" rubric: "Has the LDPR's Money Been Found?"]

[Text] ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD writes that the Dutch economic monitoring service and the Central Bank of Russia have decided to begin an investigation into an article in SEGODNYA according to which the GMM trust company, registered in the Netherlands, lent financial support to V. Zhirinovskiy during his election campaign in Russia. The political aspects are not the issue here, according to the newspaper, but possible violations of the law on granting credits.

Japan's SANKEI SHIMBUN, touching on press reports that the Dutch company GMM granted Zhirinovskiy's party $800,000 to fund its election expenses, remarks in its commentary: "So far there is no precise information suggesting the Dutch company's role in financing the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], but as of today it has been definitely confirmed that branches of the Zhirinovskiy party election campaign had premises in GMM advertising branches in Russia, and that the Dutch company's advertising and Zhirinovskiy's election campaign were funded from the same source.

"Light may be thrown on the Dutch firm's role in funding the LDPR in the near future, since the Netherlands Ministry of Finance has begun an investigation into GMM's activity, using as a pretext this firm's breach of national laws on security transactions."

Action Urged To Protect Citizens Living Outside Borders

PM0301175594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Article by Leonid Mlechin: "The Russian Question in Russian Politics in 1994"]

[Text] The Russian question is a highly important issue of Moscow's diplomacy in the new year. The opposition attacks the president precisely in this area, where it knows it cannot fail to win.

The instinctive reaction to the 12 December elections is: Russian diplomats should urgently tackle the problem of the Russians who were left outside Russia's borders. The task is to wrest the aces from the hands of the nationalists, who successfully scored points on this issue, and to prove that the democratic government is capable of sorting things out for the Russians in the former Soviet republics.

However, if Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev rushes to do something now, this will be credited to the opposition. Diplomats' activity would be interpreted in one way only: They are moving because they were frightened by Zhirinovskiy.

This claim is unjust. It is improper to accuse the Yeltsin-Kozyrev policy of neglecting the Russian question. They have encountered a problem which, as history shows, has no ideal solution.

Pure diplomacy, negotiations, UN resolutions, and appeals to international organizations and to the two supreme commissioners for human rights (Europe's CSCE commissioner and the world's UN commissoner) do not have the power to change the situation radically. Only by restoring the USSR is it possible to really reassure Russians living outside Russia and return to them their lost spiritual well-being. No other solutions will bring the desired relief to all Russians living abroad.

The most able actions by Russian diplomats, even if they manage, for example, to win some kind of concessions from the governments of the Baltic republics, will be unable to change the atmosphere in the Baltic region, where Russians and Russian-speakers are regarded as an alien element, and are at best tolerated.

It is as possible to make Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians think differently as it is to erase from the pages of history the occupation of the Baltic region by Soviet troops in 1940, the deportations, and, in general, the half-century of lording it in the three republics.

Of course, it is possible to make threats, to resort to strong-arm blackmail, to make use of the services of the military department, to refuse to withdraw troops from the Baltic region, or even to dispatch additional units there.

The idea of "enlightened nationalism" and the hope of taking over the slogans of the nationalists are sufficiently naive: The original is always preferable to a copy. So if the liberals decide that the troops who still remain in the Baltic region can be used as an instrument of pressure, then the citizens of our country are more likely to support those who have long been demanding the use of force against "Baltic nationalists." Then there would be a new government in the Kremlin, and this government would manage without Yeltsin and without Kozyrev.

The present government does not have the right to make a favorable impression on the public by offending neighboring states and boldly promising who-knows-what.

But it is making one unforgivable mistake: Andrey Kozyrev and his apparatus have not taken the trouble to **prove** to the Russian public that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is seriously concerned over this problem. If the ministry is doing something, if it is trying for some degree of success, then very few people know about it.

Judging by reports from embassies and all the information at Moscow's disposal, the majority of Russians outside Russia want to remain living where they are. And it is from this premise that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is operating, Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov told IZVESTIYA. It is necessary to ensure at the state level the legal basis of their lives outside Russia, to help Russian communities preserve their language and culture and receive education in their native tongue.

In the very near future the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to make yet another attempt to get the government to adopt a program to improve the life of Russians beyond Russia's borders. However, it is not known where the money necessary to implement this will come from.

A few days before the new year the Ministry of Foreign Affairs administration dealing with the planning and forecasting of foreign policy ceased to exist. Some of its staff will be transferred to the CIS department. Instead of global studies they will be handling the problems of the former Union republics.

A very important issue now is to see that those seeking dual citizenship are granted it. This will to some degree guarantee Russians protection and enable them to move to Russia in critical situations. CIS leaders agreed on this principle, but are now drawing back from signing agreements on a bilateral basis.

In Sergey Lavrov's opinion, this is mainly because they do not fully comprehend the real significance of dual citizenship, supposing that it frees the holders of two passports from the fulfillment of all obligations to the state. In actual fact dual citizenship only grants "nonindigenous" inhabitants equal rights with "indigenous" inhabitants, but by no means frees them from responsibility. A holder of two passports is answerable for a crime he has committed in the place that he committed it, and serves in the army in the place of his permanent residence.

What else can diplomats do in real terms?

We can prove to Western politicians and Western public opinion that their former sympathetic approach to the Baltic republics which suffered under the Soviet yoke is outdated. Western pressure is the only way to force the Baltic leaders to make concessions.

We msut tirelessly seek out sensible people in Tallin and Riga and negotiate with them: Surely Estonian and Latvian politicians do not really think that some kind of NATO will save them if people with Zhirinovskiy's mentality come to power in Moscow?

Agreement Eases Migration for Citizens in Turkmenistan

PM0401094394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Rights of Migrants Under Protection. Turkmen-Russian Agreements on Dual Citizenship and the Protection of Migrants' Rights Could Become a Model for Other CIS Member Countries"]

[Text] Ashgabat—Actually, even before, it was not necessary to flee from Turkmenistan: The problem widely termed "the problem of the Russian-speaking population in nearby foreign countries" in several of the former Union republics did not exist here. "But," Turkmen President S. Niyazov stressed in an interview with IZVESTIYA, "it would be arrantly superficial not to see or understand that, for many reasons, the growth of national self-consciousness is everywhere, including in our country, accompanied by negative tendencies..."

These "tendencies" are most commonly encountered at a mundane level. But now, the Turkmen government assures me, following the high-level signing of agreements "On the Regulation of Questions of Dual Citizenship" and "On the Regulation of the Process of Resettlement and the Protection of the Rights of Migrants," the situation around Russians could radically change for the better, and people will feel completely at ease.

"Each side"—I am reading from the text of the first document—"recognizes its citizens' right to acquire the citizenship of the other country without losing the citizenship of their own...." "A person who is a citizen of both countries fully enjoys the rights and freedoms, and also carries the obligations, of the country on whose territory he resides permanently..."

And this means that whether you are Turkmen or Russian, Uzbek or Armenian, no one will now prohibit you, if you currently live in Turkmenistan, from obtaining a Russian passport. And the same goes for those who, living in Russia, want to acquire Turkmen citizenship: Just go to the Turkmen Embassy in Moscow and get the green passport that denotes citizenship of Turkmenistan. And, praise God, we already have an example of this—Boris Yeltsin was the first citizen of Russia, by acquiring Turkmen citizenship, to receive such a document....

Migrants are another aspect of the question.

"Well, if you have made up your mind to go, at least do it in a civilized manner," Russian Ambassador to Turkmenistan Vadim Cherepov says. "First register as a migrant, and then both sides are obliged to assist you in privatizing and selling your house, conveying all your domestic property to your new place of residence in Russia, and transferring funds..."

Excluding all forms of discrimination against migrants on political, socioeconomic, ethnic, or religious grounds, the agreement on the protection of migrants' rights especially stresses: "Migrants and their families have the right to convey from the state they are leaving all movables in their possession, with the exception of items that are prohibited under the laws of that state. They can sell, bestow, exchange, bequeath at their discretion, or otherwise dispose of property in their possession...."

Few people are aware how difficult it was for officials of the Russian Embassy in Turkmenistan and the Russian Federal Migration Service to uphold these lines, without which the whole document would not be worth a dime. Well, judge for yourself how much protection migrants would have if they were forbidden not only to sell their privatized apartments in Turkmenistan—selling, exchanging, or bestowing them was forbidden by presidential edict—but even, given the harsh rules restricting the exportation of objects and valuables, to take with them to Russia the household chattels they had scraped together here.

"When we discussed this question with the various authorities," Vadim Cherepov recalls, "I constantly had to remind our interlocutors: 'Hundreds, even thousands of Turkmens are privatizing their apartments in Moscow; moreover, many of these apartments are in the capital's best apartment blocks. If they have to, they later sell them, asking from 50 to 100 million rubles for them. No one objects to this or forbids them to take their money to Turkmenistan. So what is worse about Russians wanting to sell their homes in Ashgabat, Krasnovodsk, or other Turkmen cities in order to go to Russia and buy apartments there with the money. Come, I said, let us resolve this problem at a bilateral level...'"

Much, I repeat, has been resolved. Even, it would appear, such trivial points as the following:

"The sides guarantee migrants and their families freedom from all restrictions on importing or exporting their personal property, and also from customs duties, taxes, and levies associated with this process. Monetary funds and transferred monetary deposits are exempted from levies..."

Diplomat Dismisses Comments by Lithuania's Landsbergis

LD0301123694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1131 GMT 3 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Ministry is not inclined to "react in earnest" to the numerous declarations of the former chairman of Lithuania's parliament and now right-wing opposition leader, Vytautas Landsbergis. To argue with him is as pointless as with the Liberal Democratic Party leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, said a high-ranking Russian diplomat dealing with Baltic problems in comments on recent statements by Landsbergis concerning relations with Russia.

Speaking at a recent news conference in Vilnius, Landsbergis criticized the present Lithuanian leadership for its "policy of rapprochement with the East."

According to Landsbergis, "the last few months fully revealed the aggressive nationalism of Russia, whose policy had been identical to that of Zhirinovskiy, who only speaks more openly."

"Such escapades by Landsbergis are no longer surprising," said the Russian diplomat. "They have become so biased and subjective, that they can hardly be taken seriously, even in Lithuania itself," he said.

According to the diplomat, Vilnius' current foreign policy is aimed only at normalizing relations with all countries, including Russia, and not at rapprochement with the East. From this point of view he noted "certain achievements gained by Lithuania's present leadership." "Neighboring countries should live in peace and cooperate on a mutually-beneficial basis. This is an axiom, and to dispute it is senseless," the diplomat said.

According to him, "what motivates Landsbergis is largely political jealousy, since Lithuania's current president, Algirdas Brazauskas, has managed to achieve in the foreign-policy area much of what the right-wing radicals failed to achieve during their stay in power."

Army Commander, Delegation Arrive in India

LD0301154894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1540 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] New Delhi January 3 TASS—A high-ranking military delegation from Russia with Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army General Vladimir Semyonov at its head arrived in India on a six-day goodwill visit today.

According to an official report circulated here, the delegation had a meeting with Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army General B. Joshi. The discussions were on questions of mutual interest.

Provisions of New Cryogenic Deal With India Outlined

PM0401113394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 6

[Vladimir Naumov report: "Fate of 'Cosmic' Deal"]

[Text] The new year is beginning propitiously for Russian-Indian cooperation in space matters. The editorial office possesses reliable information that the sides have at last succeeded in emerging from the ticklish situation which developed following the suspension of the agreement on the joint development of a cryogenic booster unit [CBU].

It was signed by the Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research] and the Indian Space Research Organization [ISRO] in 1991 and provided for the transfer of Russian cryogenic space technologies to India and for the instruction and training of specialists. The contracts were worth 2.35 billion rupees. By the time the agreement had been declared a violation of the missile technology control regime [MTCR] (in the opinion of some experts, the very fact of a violation is highly debatable), the Indians had already paid us 1.297 billion rupees (approximately 60 percent of the total).

For this money the Glavkosmos passed to the ISRO 90 percent of the technical documentation and certain equipment needed to organize production. In an instant all this "property" became useless, since there could be no question of continuing deliveries worth more than 1 billion rupees. In addition, the Indian space program, which is entirely dependent on the joint development of the CBU, found itself in jeopardy.

It was in these starting conditions that the sides started debating the project's future. Three times the talks were on the verge of failure. Nevertheless, an acceptable solution was found. In the opinion of specialists, the new version of the agreement will fit fully within the "Procrustean bed" of the MTCR.

What, then, has been agreed? Instead of technologies, the Glavkosmos will supply two additional CBU flight stages and technological equipment for their operation for the outstanding sum. It will pass to India two mockup units: A service one to complete the ground servicing complex and a dynamic one to "fit" it to the launch complex.

In addition, an additional agreement has been concluded on the delivery of three more Russian-made finished flight stages. Each of them will cost $3 million. This will enable India not to curtail independent space research but merely to correct its program.

The purchaser has pledged to use the equipment obtained from the Glavkosmos exclusively for peaceful purposes—to launch telecommunications satellites and other useful civilian payloads into orbit. India has agreed to a requirement not to reexport it to third countries and not to modernize without Russia's consent. Our specialists' access to places where all the space rockets which will use the units being sold as the third stage are assembled, tested, and launched will also be ensured.

The first Russian CBU's will be handed over to the ISRO in 1996. But the Indians are prepared to pay one-half of the cost in advance ($4.5 million) as early as January 1994. In conditions when the Glavkosmos is finding it hard to find the money to support the space rocket complex, these dollars will come in handy.

The accords that have been reached are very important. They will not only enable Russia to "save face" as a reliable partner in international cooperation but will also ensure employment for 15,000 of our compatriots—working people in the space industry—through the year 2000.

Thanks to the new agreement, experts believe, Russia and India will preserve the trade and scientific ties developed over the years. It is not hard to predict what the outcome would have been if this had not happened: In full accordance with the proverb "nature abhors a vacuum," our niche in the market for space services would be taken over by leading French and U.S. firms. They have long been looking longingly at this region.

COCOM Ban on Semiconductor Sales 'Very Strange Step'

PM0401133394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 6

[Unattributed report: "COCOM Disappears, Restrictions Remain. Christmas Message from Paris"]

[Text] Brief announcement by Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry: As of 24 December 1993, COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] has banned Toshiba, one of Japan's largest corporations, from selling integrated semiconductor circuits to Russia, China, and another 25 countries for a month. Toshiba incurred the administrative penalty for circumventing the committee and secretly selling silicon chips for the production of semiconductors and other banned output to the former GDR since 1986. Some 150 silicon chips and 70 guards [maski] used in the production of integrated microcircuits with a 64-kilobyte memory—a considerable size at the time—were sold to the republic between December 1986 and February 1987.

Opinion of Yuriy Buykin, representative of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations:

"This is a very strange step. There is, after all, already a political decision approved by all the committee's member countries that it should cease to exist in the second quarter of 1994. What is more, any ideological backdrop to this step has long since subsided. The USSR no longer exists, and a great deal has changed in Russia, the other CIS countries, and East and Central Europe. Nor does the GDR as such exist.

"Incidentally, even in 1986 the ill-starred silicon chips were not at all secret. You could buy them anywhere you liked. There is no need to remind you that the USSR was at the time one of the world leaders in producing this kind of

output. And in terms of quality this output was by no means inferior to that of Japan. But Toshiba's silicon chips were cheaper than ours and the Germans preferred them.

"COCOM's action is tailoring present-day reality to fit an old framework. And will it not make many Japanese firms that are willing to trade with Russia ponder: Is the game worth the candle?"

Opinion of Japanese Embassy representative in Moscow:

"At the moment," the editorial office was told, "we have not been informed of this decision."

Three hours later, following consultations with Tokyo, the embassy confirmed:

"This decision is in place. No one has revoked the letter of the law, but 31 March is still a long way off. Incidentally, this ban could be extended to three years, as happened in the past, and not just one month...."

Editorial Note: The COCOM ban could be seen as a Christmas joke were it not for one thing. It turns out that COCOM is retaining the restrictions on shipments of around 10 state-of-the-art technologies and dual-purpose materials to the former socialist countries. These include coders, heat-resistant and highly durable composite materials, and coatings used in the aerospace industry, in particular in manufacturing Stealth aircraft, and for Stealth-type radars. Admittedly, in this connection it is planned to revise the 150-item list of output banned for export to countries within the former Communist bloc.

After 44 years in existence, COCOM is to all appearances still following the old tracks through inertia even though the whole world has switched to a new course. So, we would like to ask its officials whom they want to punish—the recalcitrant firm Toshiba or Russia, say, which has already drawn a bold line under its communist past?

Economic Zone To Be Set Up on Chinese Border

LD0401102094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0250 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Representatives of Amur Oblast and the Chinese border town of Heihe have signed an agreement on setting up a zone of international trade and economic cooperation.

The 20 square km zone will be situated on both banks of the Amur River. Within the zone it is intended to open up trade and banking institutions and industrial enterprises using advanced technology and to set up a developed infrastructure. In particular, it is planned to build a road bridge.

The economic zone will become a base for processing products targeted at the markets not only of Russia and China but also of other countries. It will have free circulation of goods and free currency exchange and it will be managed by a joint committee with the participation of representatives of the Russian Federation and the PRC.

Political & Media Issues

Duma's Opening Session To Be Governed by Interim Document

LD0401115394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1052 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan—Only an interim version of standing orders will be ready for the first session of the Lower Chamber of the Federal Assembly, Grigoriy Bondarev, coordinator of the commission for standing orders and for the status of deputies of the State Duma, told ITAR-TASS today.

Bondarev said that "a certain temporary document" would be worked out by 11 January that will allow the State Duma to commence work. Later, according to Bondarev, the State Duma will form its own commission for standing orders, which will "prepare a document for all occasions".

Major Factions Fail To Agree on Duma Speaker

MK0401102094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report in the "Parliament" column: "Talks about the Speaker End Around the Kremlin Christmas Tree. LDPR Leader Is Russia's Choice's Sole Hope for a Breakup of the 'Big Coalition'"]

[Text] Today another round of talks is due to be held between the four potentially largest factions in the State Duma about the candidacy of its future chairman. The previous round, which took place on the morning of 31 December, ended inconclusively. Russia's Choice, as has always been the case recently, has again found itself in isolation but this time its partners-opponents (the Agrarian Party of Russia, the Russian Federation Communist Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]) were not quite so unanimous either. According to some sources, some turmoil among their hitherto apparently uniform ranks was introduced by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who has just returned from his foreign tour which concluded so unexpectedly. He replaced Viktor Kobelev, chief of his own party apparatus, at the negotiating table, and therefore some of the details agreed upon earlier had to be repeated to him.

According to Mikhail Lapshin, leader of the Agrarian Party, today's meeting will apparently be decisive. If there are no results—that is to say, if there is no consensus on the nomination of a mutually satisfactory candidacy for the Duma speaker—then votes would have to be counted. It can be stated with certainty that this is precisely what the leadership of each of the four large factions will have to do. With respect to Russia's Choice this procedure will apparently be the most upsetting, since its own votes will obviously not be enough to outweigh the votes of the agrarians, the communists, and the Zhirinovskiy followers. Incidentally, according to some reports, Russia's Choice was prepared for a failure at the talks on the speaker back when they were just beginning, while their results, by general consent, were reported to the press in upbeat, i.e., quite ambiguous phrases. It was at that moment that a member of the Russia's Choice faction who enjoyed substantial influence within it told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that their candidate would be Sergey Kovalev, provided the speaker is selected from among the major factions. If the Duma chairman is sought within a number of small factions, Russia's Choice would support any constructive candidacy.

Now it is appropriate to go back to Russia's Choice's problems over the counting of its own votes. They (these problems) will become especially serious after the "democratic" factions possibly refuse to team up with Russia's Choice on the speaker issue. This mainly concerns the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], whose leader Sergey Shakhray reminded Russia's Choice about the pledges by its numerous representatives that they would never sit down next to the fascists. True, the refusal to form a bloc with Russia's Choice will not bring PRES any success and, having no chances to get through its own candidate as chairman, it will have to vote against everyone, which somewhat contradicts its basic principles: unity and accord. Russia's Choice itself will undoubtedly explain away its participation in the talks by pragmatic considerations, at the same time renouncing its earlier pledges, citing pre-election rhetoric and the bitterness of defeat, widely publicized by pro-presidential TV. Therefore a bloc of smaller factions and a group of "independents" with Russia's Choice is evolving objectively: Only then will they possibly have a majority. It is another question whether such a number of partners, where each partner has his own interests and is determined to satisfy them to the fullest possible extent, will be able to come to a definite agreement. If not, defectors are bound to appear again: first, single individuals and then whole factions which will tip the scale. It appears that Russia's Choice has only one hope: Mr. Zhirinovskiy's unpredictable behavior.

Validity of Final Election Results Questioned

PM0401111394 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 2

[Tatyana Shumilina report, followed by PRAVDA commentary, under the rubric "'Democracy' In Action" and the general heading "Entertaining Arithmetic For City Duma"]

[Text] How often do we hear it said that we have finally been through the most democratic elections in our country's history. Is this the case?

For instance, in the elections to the Moscow City Duma, people were entitled to vote either for one of the candidates or against all of them. It turned out that if voters supported one candidate, their votes against the other candidates seemingly did not exist. And that is not all.

Those voters who were opposed to all the candidates were deprived of their votes. Their ballot papers were not taken into account. Do you not believe me? You want to see it for yourself? Be my guest! Let's look at the voting returns:

Electoral District No. 1. M.I. Moskvin-Tarkhanov elected. He won the votes of 29,180 Muscovites. Votes against all candidates—and, consequently, against him too—came to 37,681.

Electoral District No. 2. N.M. Moskovchenko elected. "For"—18,017. "Against"—30,379.

Electoral District No. 3. S.A. Goncharov elected. "For"—16,881. "Against"—19,561.

Electoral District No. 4. V.G. Makarov elected. "For"—23,440. "Against"—26,367.

And so on in all the districts bar four. And in nine of the 35 districts the number of those who voted against all candidates was more than 10,000 greater than the number of votes gained by the candidate who became deputy. Particularly noteworthy was District No. 18. There the elected deputy won 27,091 votes, but there were 42,153 votes against all candidates—some 15,000 more.

In the four districts where the balance was positive, the situation was as follows:

District No. 4.—S.Yu. Osadchiy: "for" 24,471, "against all" 23,662;
District No. 21—S.Yu. Zhuravlev: "for"—35,393, "against" 30,433;
District No. 26—S.O. Shokhin: "for" 32,531, "against" 31,427;
District No. 28—V.K. Plotnikov: "for" 30,540, "against" 26,429.

I repeat that this was even though voters had the chance to vote not against any specific candidate but against the whole pack.

Why was this possible? The State Duma elections were regulated by three legal acts—the appendix to presidential edict No. 1400 of 21 September, presidential edict No. 1557 of 1 October, and presidential edict No. 1846 of 6 November. Under this last edict the "Statute on State Duma Elections" lost the requirement that the number of votes cast "for" a candidate should be greater than the number of votes cast "against." But it said nothing about the city duma. It is not known who removed the similar requirement from the Statute on City Duma Elections, when it was done, or on what grounds.

So it transpires that in Moscow—a city of many millions—only four deputies won a majority. [Shumilina ends]

From the PRAVDA Editorial Office:

We do not want to offend anyone or—God forbid!—suspect anyone of impropriety.

But several questions have arisen, and the answers to them would allow us and our readers to have no doubts that we have moved from the Year of Democracy into the Year of Great Democracy. If the answers are forthcoming from the numerous delegations of foreign observers, we will be very grateful. Thus:

1. Is the form of the single-seat ballot paper for individual elections of deputies fair and democratic when it is proposed that the duly elected person be determined not by crossing out the names of the others but merely by placing a mark against the name of the favored person? And, if it is democratic, then how do those who voted "against everyone" differ from those who did not vote?

2. Were any foreign observers constantly present at Central Electoral Commission information bureaus during the two-week computation of the overall election results? And what is the explanation for the fact that the information on the voting results in the regions on a Russia-wide scale varied so markedly during different times—in the first three days, after a week, and finally?

3. Do the esteemed foreign observers think it logical that Russians should have heard a great deal about their official presence in our country, but should never have seen their official views of the results?

We hope that our Russia-wide issues will not overshadow the main city-level question put to the relevant authorities by the writer of the above note. In any event, we would like some clarification—were deputies elected to the city duma like this or?...

Happy New Year, esteemed readers!

Television Reports Opinion Poll on Zhirinovskiy

OW0401043694 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 3 Jan 94

[From the "Utro" program presented by Sergey Lomakin]

[Text] The Public Opinion Fund is continuing to work with us and continued its efforts over the New Year period, as strange as that may seem. It questioned citizens in the streets and at home, and as usual asked them the most extraordinary questions. This time the Fund was concerned with the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon, as most of us are, too. The following question was asked: Which of the following characteristics, listed below, would you say most suits Vladimir Zhirinovskiy?

Defender of ordinary people—10 percent
Supporter of B. Yeltsin—1 percent
Cunning and adroit fraud, striving for power by any means—28 percent
A democrat—2 percent
Opponent of B. Yeltsin—9 percent
Honest and sincere person, evoking absolute trust—6 percent
A fascist—13 percent
Adversary of democracy—4 percent
Could not respond—27 percent

So, drawing on its conclusions, the Public Opinion Fund is convinced that Zhirinovskiy was undoubtedly the man of the month this past December, a new type of politician who became familiar to Russians directly from the television screen. He beat a path into the hearts of voters by sneaking into the intimate circle of a family dinner, entering every

house directly, and offering simple solutions to those who had lost their former bearings in life.

And so, at least one-sixth of those asked have absolute trust in Zhirinovskiy and look to him as a defender of the people. Only more than 40 percent do not perceive him as an amoral and socially dangerous politician. [sentence as heard]. Apparently up to one- third of our questionnaire participants have not fully taken a stand on the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon.

The two-week serving of television-concentrated demagoguery was all Zhirinovskiy needed to satisfy more than 10 million hopelessly confused and despairing Russians. It is as if the naive and trusting Petrukha—whom you may remember from the film "White Sun of the Desert"—looks up at the figure looming over us and says in a questioning and idiotically direct way: Vladimir Volfovich, reveal your little face.

This was the opinion of the Public Opinion Fund, which, by the way, fully respects the choice of the Russian people, as does our "Utro" program, who voted for Zhirinovskiy and other representatives of electoral blocs. This is something sacred.

'Fears' Among Moscow Jews After Recent Fires

AU0301172094 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan 3 (AFP)—About 150 Jews gathered to pray in the snow Monday outside the remains of an historic Moscow synagogue, burnt down last week in what some suspect was the latest in a number of anti-semitic attacks.

The building, in the Mariina Roshcha district in northern Moscow, was badly damaged overnight last Wednesday, in a fire which police said was due to an electrical short circuit.

Rabbi Berel Lazar is less certain, noting threats made against another synagogue recently, and a fire at a Jewish community school in Moscow last week.

"I hope it is all accidental," said Lazar, sent to Moscow by the orthodox Lubavich movement, as he led a service by young and old Jews outside the burnt out building Monday.

Addressing the two-hour service in the cold, he questioned the police's decision not to open an official inquiry into the fire. "We have neither the time nor the means to find out who is responsible and what happened," he said.

Moscow's small number of synagogues have suffered a number of incidents in recent years, culminating in an arson attack on the Hasidic synagogue on Bolshaia Bronnaia street in April 1992.

The 1929 Mariina Roshcha synagogue was the only Jewish house of worship built after the Bolshevik revolution.

Jewish fears have been particularly raised by the electoral success of ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. "That is just one thing which leads us to say that the events of recent days are not simply accidents," said Lazar.

In response to a growing threat of anti-semitism, the government last October banned a number of organizations and publications which were openly anti-Jewish.

A Moscow city official, Vladimir Sister, assured Jews Monday of the "cooperation, friendship and understanding" of the authorities, although he insisted that the fire was caused by a short circuit.

A collection was organized at Monday's service, as those present tried to be positive. "All we can do today is rebuild our synagogue," said worshipper Heshiel Fried, his voice strained with emotion.

Sobchak, Baskayev, Rutskoy Interviewed

LD3012163993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1232 GMT 30 Dec 93

["Exclusive" report No. 1 (51) of 30 December]

[Text] **THIS PARLIAMENT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO WORK WITH, SAYS ANATOLIY SOBCHAK**

The Mayor of St. Petersburg and a member of Russia's new parliament Anatoliy Sobchak is a leading political figure in his country. He may be expected to run for President in three years from now, at least he has said nothing to rule out the possibility. A Petersburg-based reporter for INTERFAX has approached Sobchak with a few questions on the outcome of the December 12 parliamentary elections.

ANATOLIY SOBCHAK: I believe both Russian and European political leaders must draw lessons from the results of the elections. Nationalism coupled with militarism always equals fascism and nationalism rooted in the complicated problems odf the Russian armed forces and military-industrial complex, is raising head in Russia today.

This comes as no surprise now that nationalistic tendencies are growing in all the post-Communist countries. The West has even supported and hailed the bloom of nationalism in the Baltic republics and Ukraine because it produced the breakup of the Soviet Union. Now that the Russians have responded with a nationalism of their own, many are feeling flabbergasted. I am convinced, however, that the democratic forces will meet the outcome of the elections with serious political action - that all the democratic forces will join hands because, let me make it clear once again, Russian nationalism in its present guise translates into fascism.

IF: Do you feel the results of the parliamentary elections will move the Russian government to make serious changes in its economic and foreign policies?

ANATOLIY SOBCHAK: That was a question you'd better address to the President and government, although I feel the government can't help amending its policies. It must, among other things, concentrate on a thought-out foreign strategy which would take into consideration the Russian national interests, especially in relations with the former Soviet republics. Priorities must be changed in domestic policies. A new approach must be taken to relations with the constituent parts of the Federation, and more attention must be

paid to the Russian interests, although not at the expense of the rights and interests of other peoples on the Federation's territory.

IF: Being a lawyer, how do you feel about the possibility of opposition to the majority in parliament?

ANATOLIY SOBCHAK: The Federal Assembly has neither majority nor minority forces, as yet. The parliament is divided more or less accurately into the Democrats and those who may eventually emerge as the opposition. Those who are customarily described as the Independents, make up approximately one third of the lawmakers and have yet to define their political views.

Besides, all the parties and blocs have yet to mature into full-sized political units. Many of them were founded the last moment before the elections and who can tell whether part of their representatives won't decide to join other parties or blocs. Russia's new parliament is so far unpredicatble. It would be a mistake to say out of hand that antidemocratic forces are commanding a majority in the new legislature. If one made that mistake, those who have yet to define their positions, would be prompted to join that majority. So I see the need for serious and very flexible tactics - real parliamentarism.

Transition to normal professional parliamentary work will rid Russian parliamentarism of the infantile disorders of the defunct Supreme Soviet. The transition, however, will take a lot of effort because most members of the Federal Assembly have no experience of law-making. This will be sure to influence, very seriously, the effectiveness of their performance and their division into parliamentary factions as well as the formation of ad hoc coalitions. In other words, I feel this parliament will be very difficult to work with. It may be expected to confront both the President and government with many problems, especially if neither Boris Yeltsin nor the national Cabinet draw lessons from the outcome of the recently held elections.

IF: Russia's partners in Europe have voiced serious concern about the outcome of the elections...

ANATOLIY SOBCHAK: Everyone is concerned about the outcome of the Russian elections, Europe even more so that Russia. The party wins the elections on party tickets whose leader says he is not going to think twice about putting to use a few dozen nuclear devices just to make Germany or Ukraine or Kazakhstan submit to Russia. (Vladimir Zhirinovskiy of the Liberal Democratic Party - IF).

The Europeans can't help taking such statements close to heart now that they - especially Germany - have already met with this kind of leaders. Many remember that no one in Germany gave serious thought to Hitler's first calls for expanding eastwards. Hitler was made fun of, he was a laughing stock in Germany with the result that Europe, and somewhat later the world as a whole were plunged into the bloodiest of all wars. So, the western concern about what is happening in Russia is understandable.

IF: The Commission of Big Europe could, in all likelihood, emerge as a mechanism for fighting this threat...

ANATOLIY SOBCHAK: There is no doubt of that. As a very strong mechanism, I would say. The Commission must play a role in the efforts to achieve political unity in Europe and map out one blueprint and concerted strategies for foghting nationalism and fascism in Russia and other countries of Europe. The problem of nationalism is pressing on everyone, including the untroubled Belgium, Britain and Spain. It is sitting on everyone's agenda. Explosions are heard and other terrorist actions are being carried out.

GENERAL BASKAYEV: RUSSIA'S MILITARY DOCTRINE LEAVES MUCH ROOM FOR CONTROVERSY

Now that the situation in Russia is fairly complicated, the internal troops of the country's Ministry of Internal Affairs are emerging as a guarantor for domestic stability. The commander of the internal troops' Moscow district and the man who acted as the military commandant of Russia's White House during the October developments in Moscow Major-General Arkadiy Baskayev and Viktor Akimov of INTERFAX are focusing on the condition and future of those troops.

IF: The district under your command is not only central but the biggest in Russia?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: The Moscow district of the internal troops is one of the biggest among the Federation's nine such districts. Its units are deployed in 16 regions of Central Russia. But the North Caucasian district is the biggest of all.

IF: What characterizes the state off affairs in the units under your command? Part of the men are being demobilized and new forces are joining the units...

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: The situation is complicated. First of all there are problems with the draft. Some army commissariats are unable to meet the draft quotas. On the whole, men are enlisting only thanks to our officers'efforts. Officers meet with the mothers of our future troops , brief them on the conditions of service and make them feel beeter. As a result, there are no AWOL cases.

On the other hand, we are receiving weak boys, whose height and weight are under the norm. From the very first day we are offering them extra rations to be able to work them.

Basic training in the internal troops is different from basic training in other units. Army commissariats are to select boys for our operational and motorized units in a bid to insure the better physical condition and higher morale of our recruits. Our men are committed to action in various parts of this country and under especially complicated, if not extreme conditions.

IF: How do army commissariats select recruits?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: Officers of the internal troops sit on the commissariats' panels to find out more about the draftee's interests and favorite sports. Men with a criminal record are not accepted.

IF: What about the draftee's weight and height?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: We used to pay attention to that. Now that we are facing problems with drafts, we pay no attnetion to that. If we have drafted a sufficient number of men, we ourselves take care of that problem. Incidentally, the same army commissariats are in charge of drafting men to the internal troops and the armed forces under the Defense Ministry. There are drafting quotas.

IF: How many boys appear unable to meet your requirements and drop out of your units?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: Practically none these days, which does not mean everyone copes. Those who fail to cope, are transferred to our logistics units.

IF: What about the officers, or those who have come to serve under a contract?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: Unfortunately, we are facing even more problems with the officers than with the men under their command. We are losing a growing number of career servicemen owing to the shortage of housing facilities and low payments. What a commissioned officer earns today - an average of 120,000 Roubles a month - is no money. Commercial structures lure internal troops officers to serve as their security men. A deputy company commander is offered 500 000 to 600 000 Roubles a month and currency bonuses. So far, our men have, by and large, been rejecting such job propositions but are beginning to yield to pressure. Under the existing legal regulations I have no right to reject a serviceman's request for the severance of his contract. As a result, there's a shortage of company and platoon commanders in the internal troops. We are seriously worried about this.

Drafts are a success only in the provinces. Units of the internal troops in the provinces are working under regular organizational charts. Those who have signed up to serve under a contract make up 96 percent of our regiment in the city of Briansk. In Moscow,however, and other cities, very few men are signing up to serve under a contract. Housing presents a very difficult problem.

IF: A short while ago the media accused you of resorting to force in the attempts to resolve this problem. A residential project was seized...

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: The housing problem is one of the most pressing. Only in Moscow more than 500 commissioned and non- commissioned officers have nowhere to live. My deputies in the rank of General down to commissioned and non-commissioned officers with a seven-to-eight-year length of service are living in dormitories. Only men who have served at least five years with the internal troops are regarded as those without housing facilities and are placed on a housing list.

Not so long ago the district bought 14 apartments in a residential project built by veterans of the war in Afghanistan. The families of officers who moved into those flats used to live in emergency conditions, without heating and gas. We had to position our men around the house because people who described themselves as refugees started moving in without any legal reason for it. We were allowing in only those who could prove their right to live in that house.

I was surprised and very angry when several mediaa editions started twisting facts to accuse the internal troops of the arbitrary armed seizure of housing facilities. Repeat: In full keeping with law and in line with an appropriate formal agreement, we bought and are protecting housing facilities for our homeless officers.

IF: You are a career officer with a lengthy service record. Even though the internal troops will not be acting directly under the recently adopted military doctrine, what is your view of the doctrine?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: In my view, it leaves much room for controversy. On the one hand, the Russian armed forces are adopting a totally new strategy, and on the other the troops are unable to meet their new objectives. I think, thought must be given to this.

Incidentally, there is a clear-cut strategy for the internal troops and prospects are clear for their advance. Instead of guarding penitentiaries, the internal troops will be enegaged primarily in operational assignments. Only police forces will from now on be used as prison guards. There will be no more soldiers atop the penitentiaries' observation towers.

The internal troops are to help the police to enforce law and order, especially in the areas under a state of emergency, say Ossetia and Ingushetia (Russian republics where interethnic tension is running extremely high, in the northern Caucasus - IF), and to act hand in hand with the police to fight crime. The elite brigade quartered in Sofrino near Moscow has already been committed to action in this kind of operations in Moscow. I see the results as good.

IF: What exactly is the Sofrino Brigade?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: It was formed in October or November of 1988. It took part in the enforcement of law and order in Tbilisi and Baku in 1989. By 1991, it had been engaged in the efforts to disengage the conflicting parties in Nagorni Karabakh and in 1992-1993 it was used to insure security in the areas of interethnic conflicts in the Northern Caucasus. More than 200 of its commissioned and non-commissioned officers have received government awards for the role they played in the October developments in Moscow.

As of date, all its men are staying in Sofrino. They are undergoing combat and special training. As well as men of any other unit, they are expected to know how to use different kinds of arms. And, they may be engaged in street fighting and will be expected to know how to use plastic shields and police truncheons, and they may be committed to action under emergency conditions.

IF: Back to the October developments in Moscow. What lessons did you, a commander with a combat record, draw from them?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: The main lesson I am drawing from them, is this: All political problems must be resolved by political means- by way of negotiation - without dragging

the military,including the internal troops, into attempts to settle differences. As soon as the military come to play a role, blood is shed.

On the other hand, I am sure a civil war was averted in October. If the confrontation had continued, the country woul've split into two camps. Thank God, that was averted.

IF: Was there an alternative to the military action?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: I don't think there was. Procrastination would've led to a civil war. Law and order forces were acting without hesitation, as well as the internal troops. They abided by the law and in full recognition of reality. There was no alternative to what they did on October 3 and 4.

IF: Was the use of tanks fully justified?

ARKADIY BASKAYEV: In my view, their experience and technical means at their disposal enable the internal troops to seize control of buildings without the use of tanks.

ALEKSANDR RUTSKOY DID NOT VOTE

Yuriy Ivanov, the legal counsel of former Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, related to INTERFAX Exclusive what his client had to say about the results of recent elections.

Above all, Rutskoy did not vote because he believes that a coup was staged in the country and "the legal basis" decreed by Yeltsin for the constitutional reform was a sham. The reports of his voting were untrue.

He also understands that the disbandment and shelling of the country's top legislature and its defenders "brought about a hopeless situation which could only be aggravated if there was no parliament at all."

In Rutskoy's view, the election results are significant and instructive. In his view, constructive patriotic forces must make certain conclusions because the nearly 50 percent of the eligible voters who did not go to the polling stations "lost faith in the ability of the present leaders to change the situation in the country for the better. Serious work is needed with these Russians and those who are still naively optimistic about pseudo-democrats and 'radical reformers'."

Rutskoy appreciates the position of the voters who rejected the "bankrupt presidential policy and those who grabbed power for the sole purpose of dismantling the country and plunging the Russian people into mud." The people saw through "defenders of the people" such as Russia's Choice, PRES and the Democratic Russia Movement and deprived them from "a clear victory" so much awaited by Yeltsin.

Rutskoy attributed the success of the LDPR and its leader Zhirinovskiy to the well-planned electoral campaign and clear presentation of their political platform. They succeeded in persuading the Russians that the party did not want their votes for selfish purposes but sincerely wanted to do something for the sake of the Russian state and "the impoverished and hunted down Russian people." In the LDPR platform "the Russian idea" sounds convincing against the background of lies, perpetuated by "democrats," about anti-crisis policies and successes in countering inflation. "It is a pity that the people did not fully understand who drove the country into this crisis."

The former vice president noted that "all post-electoral groans about Zhirinovskiy's domination of the TV and radio time are ridiculous." He could hear one of Moscow radio programs in his prison cell and he found that most of the radio time was taken up by interviews and programs with "government and other pseudo-democrats who were brainwashing the population."

Rutskoy thinks that Zhirinovskiy must be thankful to "gentlemen democrats" for the shelling of the parliament building and barring the National Salvation Front, the Russian All-Popular Union, the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and other patriotic movements from the elections.

The good showing of the Russian Communist Party "which has gotten rid of various opportunists especially significant in the light of what the communist movement has been through over the last two years," Rutskoy thinks. He believes that the party will increase its popularity if it pursues an intelligent policy of defending the national interests for the sake of the state and the people.

In Rutskoy's view, the Agrarian Party could do even better. He "wished that party well and is sincerely glad that it will have a large parliamentary representation and this will help the party to gain even larger support." Rutskoy wanted to congratulate the party and its leader Lapshin on their victory. (By the latest reports, the party won 4,261,398 votes, or 7.90 percent - IF).

Rutskoy also congratulated the Russia's Women bloc which, he is confident, will vigorously protect the rights of the better half of the Russian population and the interest of the family and child.

Rutskoy denounced the "flagrant duplicity" of democrats, "in particular the Kozyrevs, Poltoranins, Shumeykos and others who are now publicly wooing those whom they called fascists and reds-and- browns as recently as a month ago."

Two weeks ago, Rutskoy says, Kozyrev demanded banning the Communist Party but now he is prepared to ally with it. This, the former vice president thinks, "is a classical case of the ease with which such politicos are sold and bought. Should we not expect statements about the importance of joint actions with communists from people such as Novodvorskaya, Bonner, Popov, Yakunin and Sobchak? Communists, he thinks, must be especially cautious in dealing with such new "friends" and remember that people of this kind are the worst anti-communists.

Rutskoy was glad that Lipitskiy and other Civic Union figures had a measure of support, even though the results fell short of the expectations.

He objected to using the term fascism in describing Zhirinovskiy and the millions of Russians who voted for the

LDPR because that would offend a major part of the electorate. Rutskoy emphasized that "fascism and fascists are those who ordered building a barbed wire fence around the House of Soviets and shelling parliament for the whole world to see." He recalled that one salient feature of fascism was legalized authoritarian rule and running the country by decree rather than by decisions made by democratically elected bodies.

Antifascist Front Called 'Perfidious Scheme'

PM0401112594 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 5

[Leonid Okhotin article: "Antiliberal Front: Designers of New Split"]

[Text] The defeated liberals' attempts to create an "antifascist front" mark the political death throes of a ruling regime that proved incapable of even creating the illusion of popularity with elections that bore little relation to democratic norms. The aggressive logic adopted by the authorities as they consistently antagonize, humiliate, and snipe at their political adversaries old and new has made the political elite totally isolated. Under the spell of their own omnipotence and thrilled by the passivity of the people and the demoralization of power structures, the liberals easily alienated both democrats, patriots, and communists. And now, faced with the whole spectrum of hostile "Red," "Brown," "Red-Brown," "Black," "White," "international," "nationalist," people's," elitist," "youth," and "nonyouth" forces, they have finally become aware of the seriousness of the situation. But, instead of reconsidering their course, we are once again seeing the liberals' typical, extremist move: If everyone is against us, it is necessary to split the opposition and generate a new civil conflict, and that is also the purpose of proclaiming an "antifascist" front.

Incidentally, we would point out that the actual creation of this front is in direct contravention of the law—even the Constitution that has just been adopted. The creation of "antifascist front" branches in the prefectures (that is, attached to organs of executive power) contravenes the fundamental provision of the new Constitution regarding the absence of any ruling ideology in the state (which means the absence, among other things, of antifascist ideology, which can only exist as a sociopolitical, but not a state phenomenon on any account). But the fact that the Constitution was violated as soon as it was adopted should not surprise those long accustomed to the dictatorial methods used by the authorities.

On the other hand the idea of an "antifascist front" is clearly aimed against the election triumph won by Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and thus against the voters' free will, which is the basis of democracy. In other words, in the wake of the "highly democratic elections" their defeated organizers are cynically flouting their own constitution and their own "democracy."

The total absurdity of this postelection behavior by the liberals is obvious not only to Russians, but also to foreign political observers. Thus, France's LE MONDE wrote in an article 21 December 1993 with the following highly significant question as its headline "Is Western Support for Yeltsin Justified?": "The main danger to Russia today is not fascism but the policy pursued by the incumbent authorities." In a situation where the "overwhelming majority of voters unequivocally stated that they either do not support Yeltsin's course or categorically reject it" it is quite unjust to say that Yeltsin has supposedly won a "third vote of confidence." Nor did the latest piece of deception as regards early presidential elections increase the president's influence or popularity, LE MONDE wrote.

Bearing in mind that France, the democratic LE MONDE in particular, is an outpost of antifascism and democracy in Europe it is quite obvious how other, less antifascist countries should regard the defeated liberals' clownish idea of "antifascism." Confidence in the current authorities in Russia is on the wane even among their foreign supporters. Each new step taken to escalate the political situation meets with increasingly obvious antipathy.

So it is obvious that provocation is behind the "antifascist front," but what is its ideological thrust?

One Radio Liberty commentator commenting on the postelection situation recently made the following unequivocal statement: "The nationalists' victory jeopardizes reforms in Russia." Let us ponder this statement, which in effect explains a great deal about the reforms. If a socialist or communist victory, for instance, could indeed be logically interpreted as a threat to liberal (that is, radical capitalist) reforms, on what grounds are the "interests of reformers" being compared to "national interests"? Thus, the purpose of the reforms being implemented by the current authorities, as they themselves see it, is identified with antinational activity. Otherwise there would simply have been no panic over Zhirinovskiy's victory, since on an economic level he supports liberal capitalist transformations, which should, in his view, however consider national interests.

Thus, the liberals' undisguised fury toward Zhirinovskiy represents an expressive feature of the ideological portrait of the incumbent authorities, revealing that reforms are aimed not only against a socially oriented economy (socialism), but also against nationally oriented capitalism.

On a social level the liberals support radical capitalism, the concepts of Hayek, Friedman, etc., and from the outset this made them enemies of the Communists. In the sphere of the economy and the state the Communists were and still are the radical antipodes of the ruling liberals. This was manifested particularly clearly at the time of the August putsch and the subsequent banning of the Communist Party, but at that time other forces joined the liberals in opposing the Communists—the social democrats, the democrats, and certain national anticommunist movements.

The liberal elite began to be "cleansed" of "fellow travelers" at the next stage. The main target being the soviets, the social democrats, and other democratic or socially oriented institutions and political forces. The bombardment of the parliament put an end to the alliance between the democrats and the liberals. Even those democrats who did not join the

social democrats, the christian democrats, and the constitutional democrats in directly defending the White House were nonetheless in various forms opposed to terror and dictatorship, opposed to tyranny and authoritarianism. It was from this moment that a progressive split in public opinion began, a split reflected in the democratic choice made by such newspapers as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in part, and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI (we would remind you of the very honest reporting of the events of October) and the opposite liberal choice made by MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, IZVESTIYA, etc. In principle the division of Yeltsin's former confederates and supporters into several blocs during the election campaign also reflected the objective ideological dissociation between the liberals and democrats in the ruling strata itself. Travkin represented the most radical democratic and antiliberal flank, Yavlinskiy was somewhat closer to the liberals, and Shakhray and the Movement for Democratic Reforms went further. It was only "Russia's Choice" that acted as a purely liberal ideological bloc. Thus, the division of the liberals and democrats lent an ideological tinge to the entire election campaign.

Zhirinovskiy's victory presented the liberals with a dilemma: Either to enter into an alliance with him on the grounds of their single liberal orientation or to remain true to their textbooks and spurn national interests as somehow impeding a "free market." The liberals' total lack of political flexibility also took its toll this time. Instead of seeking out allies they set about making themselves new enemies with threats of executions, guns, and "antifascist committees." "Fascists" now undoubtedly include not only all "Red-Browns" but also all democrats, who have been rudely repudiated by the extremist liberals.

The ideology which, contrary to the statement of the Constitution, has become the prevailing, dominant one in our society is the classic Anglo-Saxon liberal ideology, which denies in a totalitarian manner all other political concepts' right to exist. This ideology is antisocial and antinational.

We have gotten a one-party state, which is now actively setting up punitive institutions to preserve the power of the ruling elite. The European newspapers joked that "the Russians will now take Lenin out of the Mausoleum and put an embalmed statue of Adam Smith in his place."

The provocative call for the creation of an "antifascist front" is politically important for the liberals. The cynicism and brutality of the "reformists'" liberal measures have alienated all other political forces that are in any way different from liberal orthodoxy. An antiliberal alliance of Communists, nationalists, and democrats is clearly brewing in the new Duma. Under these conditions, sensing danger, the liberals decided to urgently provoked a conflict between their adversaries. If indeed the "antifascist front" even becomes a temporary, transitory reality the antiliberal opposition's strategic game will be totally ruined.

Instead of uniting all forces whose ideology focuses on collective interests (be it the socialists' "socium," the nationalists' "nation," the democrats' "demos") against the liberals, who, in accordance with their classic position, insist on the supremacy of the individual, the "antifascist front" would like to set the Communists and the democrats against the nationalists or at least split all opposition movements and parties, particularly those represented in the Duma, into supporters and opponents of "fascism." Naturally by "fascism" the liberals mean any nonliberal ideology, any ideology that differs from theirs, so the time is nigh when they will use the term "democratic fascism," devised by extreme Communists, to abuse their democratic opponents. Similar charges have already been heard from liberals regarding those who disagree with the line pursued by "Russia's Choice."

The defeated liberals' "antifascist" adventure would be ridiculous where it not for the political naivete of our people, who have difficulty in distinguishing between a vile, meaningless slogan and a genuine program. Representatives of the older generation of Communists, certain provincial democrats, and even some archaic patriots and conservatives may regrettably succumb to "antifascist" rhetoric.

Having become aware of the perfidious scheme being hatched by the liberal "executioners of Russia," all political antiliberal forces have to find a common platform. The creation of an "antiliberal front" is on the agenda—a front which could include "Reds," "Whites," and "democrats." The existence of such an "antiliberal front" in the Duma could be the last opportunity to peacefully remove the uncontrolled "reformers" from power.

Yavlinskiy Denies Rumors of Government Post

LD0301150294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 3 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Well-known Russian economist Grigory Yavlinskiy, one of the leaders of a democratic electoral coalition, told ITAR-TASS on Monday that rumors circulating in the mass media that he was offered a job as chairman of the Anti-Monopoly Committee were completely false.

Such rumors apparently arose from the fact that Yavlinskiy was asked to propose an appropriate candidate for that post. "We were talking about strengthening the Anti-Monopoly Committee, but there was no question of my appointment," he asserted.

Yeltsin Wins 'Man of 1993' Poll in Moscow

LD0401101194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0802 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin enjoyed 12 per cent popularity and was the first in the "man of 1993" opinion poll conducted before new year by the Institute of Parliamentary Sociology among 1,000 Muscovites.

Yegor Gaydar, the architect of Russian reform, received only four per cent, while nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy came third with three per cent popularity, according to the poll published by the "MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS" daily on Tuesday.

U.S. President Bill Clinton and noted Russian economist Grigory Yavlinskiy enjoyed two per cent of popularity.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, famous cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray and former Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy received close to one per cent.

Two women listed their husbands as the man of the year.

The poll showed there are fewer people dissatisfied with their life in Moscow than across Russia. In the Russian capital the figure was 59 per cent, while in the whole of Russia it is 75 per cent.

55 per cent of Muscovites said 1993 was unsuccessful for them, while 42 said it was successful.

'National Unity' Leader Under Guard After Shooting

PM0401095194 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Yuriy Makhrin report under the "Details" rubric: "Barkashov Arrested in Hospital"]

[Text] Yesterday officers of the Russian Federation MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] confirmed in conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent that the press report of the arrest of A. Barkashov, leader of Russian National Unity, who is under investigation following the well-known events of October, corresponds to the truth. However, they refused to comment on this event, citing the fact that an official ministry report is being prepared.

Barkashov was identified in hospital, where he underwent two operations after receiving gunshot wounds. In his words, he was shot at from a passing car at 0300 hours not far from the "Oktyabrskoye Pole" subway station. Someone brought him to hospital, bleeding profusely. There Barkashov spent a week before being identified.

The arrested man was transferred to another hospital, under heavy guard. His condition is serious. But journalists visiting his wife have reported that he is still conscious.

Stop Press: The Russian MVD Public Relations Center has announced that, as a result of current investigative measures by the internal affairs organs on 30 December 1993, Aleksandr Barkashov, leader of the so-called "Russian National Unity" movement, was discovered in a Moscow Oblast medical establishment. He was brought to the Russian MVD hospital, where he was given medical aid.

The same source said that Barkashov was in hospital in connection with gunshot wounds received in a certain population center in Moscow Oblast—not in the capital, as reported earlier. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in connection with the attack on Barkashov.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Publication Plans for 1994

PM0401115794 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "To ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Readers"]

[Text] The appearance of the first issue of the new year is always an occasion for celebration for journalists. Today for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, this celebration is threefold.

First, the number of subscribers to our newspaper has increased by a factor of 12 and its print run has hit 600,000. This makes ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI one of the country's most popular publications, and puts it among the top five Russian newspapers.

Second, you see before you the first 16-page issue—the next stage in the development of our newspaper, which is constantly expanding its topics and volume.

Third, this is one of the first issues of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in its capacity as a publication independent of the organs of power. We needed three years to acquire freedom. We consistently upheld the idea that the press in a democratic state cannot be a "tool" of government, but that it must be an instrument of society's monitoring of all branches of power. Our move is not a strategic maneuver, nor is it an attempt to stand in opposition to the government, which has enough opponents today without that. On the contrary, we will fairly and thoroughly report the government's efforts to reform the national economy, promptly inform readers of the essence of the decisions being adopted by it, and publish the most important decrees and commentaries on them. We want to help our readers to evaluate government actions correctly.

Once again we stress: The topic of power, the topic of the formation of the Russian state will remain paramount in our newspaper. We deem our most important task to be to provide information about the processes under way in society, and to expose political "machinations," and the mechanism for adopting decisions.

Other of our readers' diverse interests will be satisfied by the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI sections which are offered in this issue.

DELO and DENGI are addressed to entrepreneurs.

PROMYSHLENNAYA GAZETA is aimed at producers.

VEKHI is a newspaper for the independent intelligentsia.

RETSEPT is a supplement for those interested in health.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI is an important source of information for workers in the system of executive power, jurists, and economists. Our KURYER and DOKUMENTY sections are aimed at this group of readers, promptly publishing edicts and directives from the president, government decrees, and normative acts by ministries and departments, which come into force only after publication in our newspaper.

The new year poses a difficult task for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI—to live up to its name, to become a newspaper reporting extensively on the life of the regions, the Russian heartland. To this end, our correspondent network in the localities is constantly growing.

As of now ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI already has 18 own correspondents within the country, and one abroad. The number of correspondent offices is set to increase further.

We will strive to ensure that ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI reaches readers in good time, and without delays. To this end, we are printing it not only in Moscow, but also in 16 other cities around the country.

We will try to maintain a reasonable price for our newspaper. To this end, the editorial office is expanding its commercial activity, increasing the volume of advertisements published.

The reader's opinion is pivotal in the newspaper. We are therefore publishing a page of readers' leaders in this issue: lively, "undiluted" letters. Permanent dialogue with readers is one of our immutable creative principles.

Analytical centers, in which the country's leading scientists are working, are being set up under the editorial office and a powerful information service is being formed. We have already concluded a contract with REUTER, the world's leading news agency, from which we will obtain news and photographs. It is planned to set up a fitness center under the editorial office, where leading Russian doctors, the authors of our RETSEPT section, will be able to give you a consultation.

We will only be able to implement all these plans with your support, dear readers. It is with a hope for this support and mutual understanding that we are beginning our dialogue in the new year.

Editors Threaten Strike To Protest Costs

LD0401121894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1125 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan—Journalists of major newspapers are prepared to suspend their publications beginning 11 January. This protest action against the government's decision to reevaluate the assets of national economic enterprises was announced at a news conference today.

Editors in chief of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, and many other publications said that Resolution No. 1233 of 25 December would result in a 600 percent increase in printing costs and would, in fact, be tantamount to stifling the press.

Journalists' unions of Russia and Moscow, the Association of Publishers and Editors in Chief, and the Fund for the Defense of Glasnost have demanded the following: that purpose-built allowances to publications be earmarked in order to continue issuing the numbers of copies prepaid by subscribers; that a special procedure for the implementation of the resolution in printing and communications industries be introduced; and that editorial collectives be offered real possibilities for privatizing printing works and related facilities.

Stressing that the planned action was a forced measure, Vsevolod Bogdanov, chairman of the Union of Journalists of Russia, voiced the hope that the government would go halfway toward meeting the journalists' demands in the very near future. He said that a final decision on carrying out the action will be made tomorrow. Furthermore, the majority of regional publications in Russia are ready to participate. Radio and television journalists will back their colleagues.

'Utro' Program Discusses Edict on Media

OW0401095394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Studio interview with Vasiliy Grigoriyevich Samokhvalov, prominent lawyer and one of the authors of the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting, by Sergey Lomakin; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Lomakin] I now propose that television viewers join our discussion in which we will talk about something that is probably of great interest and that will be very important next year, something that concerns everyone—about television and radio broadcasting. My guest is Vasiliy Grigoriyevich Samokhvalov, a prominent lawyer and one of the authors of the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting, which has not yet been adopted....

[Samokhvalov, interrupting] Unfortunately.

[Lomakin] Yes, it is only on paper so far. We will talk about some of the president's latest edicts concerning television and radio broadcasting. So, a Russian Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting has been established. Has a Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] been revived?

[Samokhvalov] I would not say so. After all, the Ministry of Information and the Press has been reorganized. Two services have been established on its base which, depending on how they organize their work, will either justify their existence or be reorganized once again. But according to the plan and the text of these edicts, very important functions have been vested in these services. This includes support for state and nonstate television, registration of television companies and mass media, and so forth.

[Lomakin] You know, Vasiliy Grigoriyevich, I think that the viewers are absolutely uninterested in all these behind-the-scenes affairs of ours, even in our journalistic and editorial affairs. I mean, such things as the furniture we use and the equipment we work with. Only one thing about this edict concerns them: Will television be better? Will their favorite programs disappear or remain? Will they move to other channels or broadcast times, and so forth?

[Samokhvalov] We must understand one thing, that a great deal depends on the normative or legislative basis of television. It is much the same with health laws, for instance. Sooner or later they will have an influence on our health. Will we get free medical treatment or we will get good or bad medical treatment? This also goes for television. These edicts create a certain legal space which gives domestic television an opportunity to work better. I think that if the new Federal Assembly adopts the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting which reflects the necessary articles, then television will be able to work better, and consequently this will be borne out in its programs and television will be directed more toward the interests of our esteemed television viewers.

[Lomakin] Now take a look, Vasiliy Grigoriyevich, at what an interesting thing we get—a certain idea lies behind the framework of the edict that one television channel will remain a state channel, and the second channel will be privatized, auctioned off, and will carry independent television company programming. Yet we are already running into contradictions with our television viewers. We are trying to put a lot of advertising into our programming, and this irritates the television viewers. They do not like this, yet we survive from advertising. How will the state channel differ from the nonstate channel?

[Samokhvalov] There are some existing norms. For instance, the Law on Mass Media determines that advertising must not total more than 25 percent of the broadcast time of television programming. A separate draft law is being prepared on advertisements in the mass media. I think that this is precisely where problems of placing advertisements in feature films and other television programs will be dealt with in greater detail. In other words, this requires normative and legislative regulation.

[Lomakin] Vasiliy Grigoriyevich, let us switch from television to the very, very latest problems. The fact of the matter is that as far as we know, the Russian Press House is supposedly being transferred for use by the Federal Assembly. In other words, the journalists will be kicked out of it and the newspapers will be kicked out. So, do journalists have any rights, in general, or not? I am curious.

[Samokhvalov] Journalists? I feel very sorry for you because you are the anchorman of one of the more interesting programs and you should know your rights. Of course, you also have responsibilities, according to Article 47, to find and request information, visit various organizations, take notes, and so forth. All of these rights exist, and they are in effect. There are journalists' responsibilities, and I think that the Law on Television will permit a more specific determination of the rights of television journalists, for instance, or radio journalists.

[Lomakin] What about the Russian Press House? That is the issue I was leading up to. Let us look at that issue. Who will get the Russian Press House? If the Federal Assembly gets it—and I understand that this could be justified—where will the newspapers and the journalists go?

[Samokhvalov] Where will they go? I think that there must be an administrative building available in Moscow. Just take a look. Only recently the Ministry of Security was eliminated. This means a complex of buildings on Dzerzhinskiy Square.

[Lomakin] But you know that the time between the publication of the edict on the elimination of the ministry and the vacating of the buildings may amount to several years. I think that this is what will happen.

[Samokhvalov] The Ministry of Information and the Press has also been eliminated. It occupied a building in the very center where the editorial offices of the newspapers NOVOYE VREMYA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, NOVYY MIR, and so forth traditionally have been located. I think that the journalists could very easily move into the premises of the eliminated departments. I think that this problem is a little far-fetched.

[Lomakin] Vasiliy Grigoriyevich, thank you. We do not have much time left, so I must say that I am satisfied only by one thing, and that is the fact that television journalists will probably not have to vacate this building next year.

[Samokhvalov] I hope not. I would also like to express my hope that you will more actively defend the rights of television viewers on the basis of a knowledge of your own rights as journalists. I hope that next year this building will not come under fire, either from weapons or public opinion. I count on the formation of public councils at state television and radio companies which will ensure mutual links between state television and television viewers. I wish you every success.

[Lomakin] Thank you, Vasiliy Grigoriyevich. I hope that we will work together with you because journalists need professional lawyers like never before. Our guest was Vasiliy Grigoriyevich Samokhvalov, head of one of the independent information agencies known as ROSSIYSKOYE PRAVO [Russian Law]. Thank you.

[Samokhvalov] All the best.

Economic Issues

Power Industry Functions Smoothly Despite Financial Crisis

PM0401092594 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 93

[By Sergey Omelchenko and Yevgeniy Shmatrikov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Omelchenko over video of power industry installations including control room of Russia's unified power grid] Naturally, the financial crisis has cast a shadow over the power engineers' professional holiday. Consumers owe the industry more than 2 trillion rubles. Nonetheless, our unique power complex continues to function smoothly, without disruptions.

The 50-hertz reading on the central control panel of Russia's unified power grid indicates that the power grid is operating

stably. The stable operation is the result not just of good equipment and the harmonious operation of the collective, but also of credits, big credits. Will these, together with the fairly steep interest rates, not have to be shouldered by consumers next year?

[A.F. Dyakov, president of the "Russia's Unified Power Grid" Russian Joint Stock Company] The bill for the credits should be footed by defaulters. In that case disciplined consumers would be protected. Their electricity rates would remain unchanged.

[Omelchenko] Despite all the financial difficulties, new capacities totaling 3,000,000 kW have been commissioned during the current year. That is quite a lot. There are big plans also for the coming year. Russo-German joint-production modern, economical gas turbines are being assembled in St. Petersburg, the North Caucasus, and Novgorod. Construction is continuing of the state regional electric power stations at Khoro-Nor in Chita Oblast, Nizhnevartovsk in Tyumen Oblast, and in Pskov, and also the Severnaya Heat and Electric Power Station in Moscow.

Power engineers are paying a lot of attention to energy saving. So, for example, the (?Cryocor) Joint Stock Company is planning to commission a turbo-expander installation at the No. 21 Heat and Electric Power Station in the capital in the new year. This installation converts the gas energy in trunk gas pipelines into electricity and in addition produces cryogenic products—nitrogen, oxygen, argon, xenon, and so forth.

[Dyakov] We have 600 such power stations. So there is a great deal of scope for employing these turbo-expanders as energy-saving technologies.

[Omelchenko] You have a new control panel here at the central control room. This is a showcase of the electronic equipment which is operating in Russia's power grid today.

[Dyakov] What is important is not just the hardware but also the software, and we have developed it ourselves.

[Omelchenko] The intellectual basis of the power industry is being created by the sector's leading scientific research institutes in cooperation with the Professor Solomatin Software Institute.

[Dyakov] Thanks to our comprehensive collective we have been able to operate reliably, and I hope that we will always be able to operate reliably.

Fedorov Warns of 'Ukrainianization' if Reforms End

PM3012192793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov: "The Dollar Will Cost 10,000 Rubles If We Back Down From the Reforms. That is Finance Minister Boris Fedorov's New Year's Prediction"]

[Text] The present financial policy is provoking a harsh reaction from the opposition. That means that a consistent financial policy has been achieved.

Prices over the past year rose by a factor of nine (they rose by a factor of 26 in 1992), and in December the rate of price rises was for the first time just 12 percent. These results could have been much better had it not been for the compromises on the budget, the promises of new appropriations not backed up by sources of finance, the artificial raising of purchase prices for grain, and our continuous struggle with the Supreme Soviet, the Central Bank, and sector lobbies in the government.

The lowering of inflation means easing the problem of the shortage of circulating capital and the depreciation of savings and investments. That is why the slump in production last year was not as great as the opposition predicted. However, 900 percent inflation is still disastrously high and it is simply ridiculous to say that we have an unduly harsh policy or shock therapy here. Only incompetent or dishonest people can argue this way. It is typical that in all sectors without exception the average wage in 1993 rose faster than inflation.

Back at the beginning of the year we were criticized for the excessively low and unrealistic ruble exchange rate. But from June through the end of the year the rate only fell from 1,100 rubles [R] to the dollar to R1,250 to $1; in other words, by just 10 percent as against an approximately fourfold rise in prices. Our prices are rapidly approaching the world level, which marks the end of the era of prosperity for inefficient production units whose survival was made possible by the vast price discrepancy. Now there are many who dislike the strengthening of the ruble even though this is a direct method of combating the export of our national wealth at knockdown prices.

The time has come to ask many prestigious directors of giant enterprises and captains of agriculture: What is your labor productivity like, why should we support you if your goods are selling at world prices while you pay people kopeks? I consider it a violation of human rights when I am forced to buy a commodity at a price higher than the world price and furthermore when it does not come up to scratch.

In 1993 we managed to stop the flow of money, subsidies, and credits to CIS countries despite the fierce resistance of the Central Bank and a number of members of the government.

In 1993, despite the opposition of the Central Bank and various sector lobbies, we managed to substantially raise interest rates and reduce various types of benefits which always go to the least strong and efficient and are then wasted. What effect did this have? In the first place the savings of the population and enterprises are now far better protected against inflation. Second, the voracious demand for free credits from the "black holes" in the Russian economy has been greatly restricted. It is no secret that behind the fine slogans of support for this sphere or that, what happens is that state resources are frankly plundered.

I do not know who will be at the helm of Russia's financial policy in 1994—that is up to the president and the premier to decide—but I believe that it is necessary to demand

absolutely concrete steps and commitments from those who lay claim to power. I would consider the following to be the minimum program for 1994:

- the population's savings: Interest rates higher than the rate of inflation must be ensured so that savings really do grow and people are able to accumulate money for long-term purchases. Until that happens there will be no investments or industrial development. At the same time it is necessary to pay reasonable compensation for losses in savings resulting from the deregulation of January 1992, but this must be done using noninflationary sources;
- the population's real incomes must rise by at least 20-30 percent, and the dollar equivalent of the average monthly wage must rise from $100 to $250: It is necessary to introduce tax regulators to reduce the discrepancy in earnings between the richest and the poorest;
- inflation must be reduced in the very near future to less than 5 percent a month, which is equivalent to 80 percent annually. That will make it possible to reduce the general level of interest rates, stimulate investments, and encourage enterprises to plan their activity;
- as the budget deficit falls to 5 percent of GDP or less and is financed by market loans it will be possible to reduce the tax burden on commodity producers;
- if events develop favorably the foreign exchange rate of the ruble in 1994 will not fall below R2,000-2,500 to the dollar, which will make our exports more substantial, will facilitate imports, and will make enterprises think about competitiveness, productivity, and quality. At the same time all the remaining restrictions on exports should be completely lifted.

Those are the most basic financial policy demands in 1994. Will those responsible be bold enough to make these commitments and then answer for them to the people?

I have studied the opposition's demands and programs closely and I have come to the conclusion that in the financial sphere **no one is offering anything fundamentally new apart from a sharp increase in expenditure** (social needs, investments, and so forth). I wholeheartedly support such expenditure. However, no one is saying **anything serious about where the money for this expenditure is to come from**. That means just one thing—a further increase in the budget deficit and consequently a further rise in inflation. And inflation, let me repeat for the hundredth time, hits real people, enterprises, and the whole state in the pocket.

On the eve of the new year, 1994, I shall try to predict what will happen if there is a change of course. A change of policy and the rejection of the more than moderate course pursued by us in 1993 (and accordingly the rejection of the people identified with that policy because a policy is always pursued by specific people) will mean the "Ukrainianization" of our economy:

- prices rising annually by a factor of 20;
- an exchange rate in the region of R10,000 to the dollar (the rate could be fixed, so that would be the "black market" rate);
- a further decline in labor productivity;
- a fall in the population's real money incomes by at least one-eighth (in 1993 the rise was 10 percent); the average wage would fall to the dollar equivalent of $50 a month;
- savings and investments would contract in real terms;
- the dollarization of the economy would intensify again;
- certain prices would be fixed and there would be an attempt to confiscate money, particularly foreign currency, held in banks;
- there would be another shortage of many types of goods, the stores would be empty, and emigration would increase.

I think that instead of the enormous market around the Kiev station in Moscow, where Ukrainians, hunting for rubles which have become a genuine foreign currency, are to be found selling masses of goods, there would be a similar market in Kiev where you might find Russians trading, hunting for "karbovantsy." I do not rule out the possibility that our miners would go to Kazakhstan to earn their living, just as Ukrainians now come to Rostov to work for half pay. Perhaps our delegation would then go to Tashkent to ask for credits and Russian enterprises would try to keep their money salted away in Belarusian banks.

The only possible consolation for our opponents would the growth of production by 3-5 percent by increasing the production of tanks and missiles. Admittedly, I do not think that this will be a source of much new year's joy for Russia's citizens as we approach 1994.

I do not believe people who change their views, who pursue one line today and are ready to pursue a different one tomorrow. I have no faith in the leaders of enterprises who forget about labor productivity and production efficiency and know only one way to resolve their problems—by asking the president or the premier for money. All that we have is the interests of the state and our citizens, and they are demanding that rigorous financial order be instilled in the country and that the reforms be continued, reforms whose sole aim is the improvement of our life.

At most 10 percent of the people in the old parliament supported the reforms; now that figure is at least 30 percent. That is not so bad for a beginning. The only way to stop things coming to a standstill is to firmly accelerate the reforms and move closer to a normal life worthy of the citizens of a great country. Slowing down the reforms is the road to ruin, the continuation of the time of troubles, and the betrayal of Russia's national interests.

Enough of the deception and disappointment. Enough of the promises. Enough of the people who cling onto their jobs despite being totally incapable of anything constructive. Enough of the attempts to cross the hedgehog with the grass snake—as is well known, all you get is barbed wire. The elections were a warning to us.

Pray God that Russia does not turn back from the true path again, especially as the most difficult steps have already been taken and we have the strength to go on.

Economic Stabilization Seen Unlikely in 1994

PM0401120794 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Gennadiy Yastrebtsov article under the "Economic Barometer" rubric: "Landfall Still Fog-Bound"]

[Text] More and more sober-minded economists, even among those formerly opposed to Soviet power, are coming to the sad conclusion that the monetarists have led the country into the quagmire of a very severe economic crisis. The authors and proponents of "shock therapy" continue to claim that everything is fine and that, although we may be bogged down for the time being, we will gradually reach terra firma....

So what can we expect in 1994? Even going by the official Ministry of the Economy forecasts, there will be a further drop in the population's real income. And the middle class—the largest group, on whose shoulders the national economy has always depended—will be hit hardest. In the new year approximately 33 percent of the population will have a per capita income less than the minimum wage, and the difference in income levels between our poorest fellow citizens and the new fat cats will increase 11-fold. Academician S. Shatalin, the well-known "marketeer," has said the following: "The Russian Government is pursuing a not very well-conceived or responsible policy in this area. Governments throughout the civilized world regulate the population's income, and nobody considers this a violation of the laws of the development of the market economy...."

Take the United States, for instance. Business circles there reacted loyally to the ousting of the right-wing Republican government by the center-right Democrats. They were hopeful of tipping the balance between the "market" and "nonmarket" sectors of society toward a better resolution of the social problems which have deteriorated even in that prosperous country as a result of the latest economic crisis. According to information published in BIRZHEVYYE VEDOMOSTI by Yevgeniy Boshnyakov, director of the "Issledovateli Rynka" enterprise, America has its own macroeconomists, whom our "apprentices" imitate. The U.S. Democrats even involved some of them in their election campaign. But, once victory was assured, none of them was taken into the leadership—electioneering is one thing, while actually running a state is quite another. That is why in America the transition did not result in any shocks or general confrontation between such usually hostile forces as entrepreneurs, workers, and the nonmarket section of society.

Russia has done the same as America, only...back to front—power has been handed over to extremists from science and production. And, naturally, society has suffered a terrible shock, the economy is in an unprecedented crisis, and the executive is meeting with opposition and hostility from such economically different forces as state and private employers, stockbrokers and bankers, the military and pensioners.

What now? Despite the fact that the mutual offsetting of debts is anathema to government officials, this will clearly be unavoidable in the new year, otherwise we will have hyperinflation again—but this time because of the wholesale reduction in commodity supply. In the opinion of the well-known economist Algimantas Lebedinskas [name as transliterated], squeezing the money supply in absolute terms after reducing the supply of goods is a sheer illusion. Moreover, the country can expect mass unemployment—requiring state spending that the state budget will hardly be able to withstand owing to the tax collection shortfall.

So the Russian economy can look forward not to stabilization—as the monetarist reformers stubbornly promise—but new upheavals. Perhaps even stronger upheavals than last year.

Poll on Russians' View of Economic Situation Assessed

PM0401102994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Sergey Prokopenko: "Have We Started To Live Better?"]

[Text] Let he who says we have not be the first to cast a stone at me. Previously, in pre-perestroyka times, any news of another price increase was seen as almost a nationwide tragedy. But now we even make jokes about it: If they assure us that prices will not rise that is the first sign that another leap is imminent. Is that not evidence of mounting optimism?

Therefore the news of the New Year "gifts" from the subway workers (a subway trip will cost 50 rubles as of 1 January) and from the municipal employees and communications workers (telephone payments have increased threefold) was received as a stable sign of a market economy making itself felt.

Moreover, the statisticians see a positive sign in this response. For instance, a poll of 1,000 Russians held on New Year's Eve by the institute of comparative social studies showed that for the first time in the past three years the majority of those polled believe that the quality of their food intake has not deteriorated, that life last year, although it did not improve, did, in their opinion, stabilize somewhat.

The number of "pessimists" believing that the situation has become worse declined to a record level—57 percent (71 percent in 1992). Probably they have swelled the numbers of those who believe that life has not changed. And their numbers have increased by one third, reaching 29 percent. The cohort of optimists, whose lives improved last year, has increased by a whole 2 percent. They number 13 percent. As we can see, we have no problems with the growth of optimism.

Incidentally, there is no unity either in the economists' camp. Thus, some believe that the multiple increase in prices on the consumer market, inflation, the ruble which has decreased in values tens of times over, and the overwhelming production slump have made Russians' lives considerably worse. But others, including Vice Premier

Yegor Gaydar, assert that despite everything their fellow citizens' prosperity has increased tenfold. It is true that they rely not on the opinion of these fellow citizens but on specific figures: Whereas in 1991 Russians' average wages in hard currency equivalent were $7, the figure now is $70.

I remember the nostalgic words of a woman of my acquaintance: "I want 1982 and my 120 rubles wages!..." Probably there is something this woman fails to understand.

Meanwhile, happy New Year and happy new prices!

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Karelia Territories

LD3112115893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1140 GMT 31 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Zlobin]

[Text] Petrozavodsk, 31 Dec—Karelian residents have been given a New Year present—President Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict "concerning the classification of individual territories of the republic as belonging to rayons of the extreme north and areas enjoying the same status." The residents of the north have been waiting a long time for this decision and regard it as equitable compensation for the discomfort they experience living in inclement climatic conditions.

Now, in keeping with the edict, the residents of Karelia have been given the right to draw their pensions five years earlier than before. Apart from this, the northern allowances, payable over and above the local wages, have been considerably increased.

However, residents in some Karelian villages are still dissatisfied with what they see as this kind of levelling-down. In keeping with the presidential edict, the republic has been divided into two zones with slightly differing benefits. It transpires that Kostomuksha, in the north of this lakeland area, is on a par with the southern Sortavala, where the climate is much milder.

In their appeal to the Karelian Supreme Soviet deputies, Kostomuksha inhabitants demand that this inequality in benefits be removed.

Tatarstan President Issues New Year's Greetings

LD3112215893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1605 GMT 31 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan, 31 Dec—Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev today addressed New Year's greetings to his fellow countrymen. After expressing his best wishes, he said the people are coping well with the trials of the early years of transition to market conditions. Although farmers have gathered in a fine harvest, a difficult situation has taken shape in that sphere, as well as in some others, owing to failure to pay. The president is confident that all these hardships are temporary and will be overcome through joint efforts. A policy which regards social programs as a priority is being pursued in the republic.

Talking about the relations with Russia, Tatarstan's president said: "We are continuing consistent work aimed at reaching various agreements, taking into account the achievements made by Tatarstan on the civilized route toward establishing its statehood." Such is the will of the people, President Shaymiyev concluded.

Wishing his countrymen a happy new year, he told them to strengthen links of blood and spirit between one another.

Electoral Commission Schedules New Elections

Decree on Tatarstan

PM3112135993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decree "on the Additional Nomination of Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council and State Duma candidate deputies and the Scheduling of Repeat Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma Deputies in the Republic of Tatarstan"]

[Text] In connection with the fact that, after the completion of the registration of candidate deputies of the Federation Council and candidate deputies of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, in the Tatarstan No. 16 two-seat electoral district for the election of deputies to the Russian Federal Assembly Federation Council fewer than three candidates were registered; in the Naberezhnyye Chelny No. 25 single-seat electoral district for the election of a State Duma deputy fewer than two candidates were registered; and in Almetyevskiy no. 23, Moskovskiy no. 24, Nizhnekamskiy no. 26, and Privolzhskiy no. 27 single-seat electoral districts (Republic of Tatarstan) elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies did not take place, in accordance with point 7 of article 20 of the Statute on elections of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council deputies in 1993, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

1. That elections of Federation Council deputies in the Tatarstan no. 16 electoral district and of a State Duma deputy in the Naberezhnyye Chelny no. 25 single-seat electoral district be scheduled for 13 March 1994 for the additional nomination of candidate deputies and the implementation of subsequent election actions.

2. That repeat elections of State Duma deputies in the Almetyevskiy no. 23, Moskovskiy no. 24, Nizhnekamskiy no. 26, and Privolzhskiy no. 27 single-seat electoral districts be scheduled for 13 March 1994.

3. That the organization and holding of the elections in these electoral districts be assigned to the relevant district and polling place electoral commissions as previously staffed at the same polling places and on the basis of the same list of voters with the necessary amendments and additions which have been made to them.

The report on the additional nomination and repeat elections is to be published in the press.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission; V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 25 December 1993

Decree on Chelyabinsk

PM3112133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decree No. 159 "On the Additional Nomination of Candidate deputies of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council in Chelyabinsk No. 74 Two-Seat Electoral District"]

[Text] At the end of the registration of candidate deputies of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council in Chelyabinsk No. 74 two-seat electoral district for the elections to the Federation Council fewer than three candidates were registered.

In connection with the need for the additional nomination of candidate deputies for this district, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission on the basis of point 7 article 20 of the Statute on the Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council deputies in 1993 decrees:

1. That the election of Federation Council deputies in Chelyabinsk No. 74 two-seat electoral district be scheduled for 26 March 1994 for the additional nomination of candidates and the implementation of subsequent electoral actions.

2. That the organization and holding of the elections be assigned to the Chelyabinsk No. 74 two-seat electoral district commission for the election of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council deputies and to the relevant polling place electoral commissions as previously staffed, at the same polling places and on the basis of the same voters lists with the necessary amendments and additions which have been introduced to them.

The announcement of the additional nomination of candidates and the date of the elections should be published in the press.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian federation Central Electoral commission; V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 25 December 1993

Decree on Yamalo-Nenetskiy District

PM3112130993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decree No. 158 "On Holding Additional elections of Deputies of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council in the Yamalo-Nenetskiy Two-Seat No. 89 Electoral District"]

[Text] In connection with the fact that as a result of the voting 12 December 1993 one deputy of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council was elected in the Yamalo-Nenetskiy No. 89 two-seat electoral district, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission in accordance with subpoint "L" of point 1 article 15 of the Statute on Elections of Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council deputies in 1993 decrees:

1. That additional elections for a Federal Assembly Federation Council deputy from the Yamalo-Nenetskiy two-seat electoral district be scheduled for 6 March 1994.

2. That it be stipulated that this electoral district, when holding additional elections, is a single-seat (one district-one deputy) electoral district.

3. That the organization and holding of the elections be assigned to the relevant district and polling place electoral commissions as previously staffed at the same polling places and with the same lists of voters with the amendments and additions introduced to them.

4. That the announcement that additional elections have been scheduled and their date be published in the press.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission; V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 25 December 1993

Dzasokhov Withdraws From North Ossetia Election Campaign

LD0201185494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1842 GMT 2 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz January 2 TASS—"I withdraw my candidature in the presidential election campaign for the sake of further consolidation of society and victory of the North Ossetian sound forces," ex-secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and State Duma deputy from Northern Ossetia Aleksandr Dzasokhov told the North Ossetian TV news program today.

"I am grateful to all North Ossetian electors who supported my candidature at the Russian presidential elections. The new Russian parliament will have to work hard in the name of economic revival of the country and its indivisibility. My hopes are pinned on the new Russian constitution approved by the people," he said.

Speaking of the North Ossetian presidential elections scheduled for January 16, Dzasokhov noted the supreme official should personify the spirit of accord and well-wishing in the multi- national republic. Any social-economic policy can be successful only on this basis.

"I would wish the future North Ossetian president to be more active in solution of personnel issues and combine experience and youth. When introducing the presidency in Northern Ossetia, we should clearly decide on our foreign and domestic policy, development of the social sphere and perfection of inter-ethnic relations," added Dzasokhov.

North Ossetia, Center Disagree Over Fulfilling Decisions

PM0401095594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[RIA report: "Moscow Is Far Away but Voters Are Nearby"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government, has sent the North Ossetia Government a number of instructions for fulfilling the decisions made 7 December 1993 in Nalchik at the Russian president's conference with leaders of the North Caucasus republics, krays, and oblasts.

But at a North Ossetia Security council sesion Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, stated that "a number of instructions which North Ossetia is now being obliged to fulfill were not examined at all at the Nalchik conference." In the opinion of local observers this divergent interpretation of the documents adopted in the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria is connected with the forthcoming 16 January elections of the North Ossetia president. If the public finds out that a representative of North Ossetia has nonetheless approved the final document in Nalchik, he will lose support among voters..

Attacks Continue in North Ossetia

LD3012131793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1257 GMT 30 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz December 30 TASS—The situation in the state of emergency zone of Northern Ossetia remained complicated in the last days of the outgoing year.

According to military sources, a group of unidentified men repeatedly opened fire from automatic weapons and grenade-throwers on a customs post near the mountain village of Nizhny Lars, located on the Georgian military highway. Two agents of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry were wounded by grenade splinters.

Seven night-time gun battles were fought in several settlements of Prigorodny district. No casualities were reported.

According to information released by the investigation team of the Russian Interior Ministry, several submachine-guns, fourteen pistols, many grenades and explosive devices, some blank weapons, and hundreds of cartridges were discovered in a dwelling house in Malgobek district of the Ingush republic in the course of searches carried out there.

New Election Campaign Begins in Chuvashia

LD0401155094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1352 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary January 4 TASS—On Tuesday [4 January], a new election campaign started in Chuvashia, where the president had been recently elected. Candidates to the state council of the republic and to local self-government bodies of all levels, from cities to regions and villages were nominated.

Forty-seven deputies to the new parliament, which will replace the supreme soviet of the republic will be elected on March 13. Nineteen deputies will work in the parliament full-time.

Amur Oblast Local Government Reform Examined

PM3012170993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with A. Krivchenko, chairman of the Commission for Reforming the Local Organs of Power, by Nikolay Belyy in Blagoveshchensk under the rubric "Organs of Representative Power"; date not given: "Provinces Want To Think"]

[Text] Long before the election of the new Russian parliament preparation of documents for the reform of the local organs of power began in Amur Oblast. Now they are already prepared. What will the new organs of power look like away from Moscow? A. Krivchenko, chairman of the Commission for Reforming the Local Organs of Power, replies to ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

[Belyy] Albert Arkadyevich, here in Amur the people have seen and experienced various organs of power provided by God, the czar, and the Bolsheviks. Here were military governors appointed by the sovereign; subsequently in Blagoveshchensk there was a city public administration, a city, that is to say, petty bourgeois, administrative office [uprava], a city duma, a committee for public safety—I'm talking about 1917 now—and soviets of various levels. What now? And anyway, was a reform of the local power so necessary? After all, on a mundane level the old power got in no one's way; it just scribbled one or two things here and there, being only a pale shadow of the other, pro-party power, as we know.

[Krivchenko] It is this power that we are reforming—a window-dressing, a sham power, incapable of thinking properly and seeking compromises. A new parliament has been elected in the country; what are we supposed to do in the provinces—press on with the soviets, which could offer nothing but the imposition of struggle against reforms, the government, and the president? Incidentally, long before the elections the activity of the soviets at various levels in Amur Oblast was suspended by the head of the oblast administration, and only new elections can resolve the situation legitimately. Yes, in Amur, as, moreover, in Mother Russia as a whole, people have experienced various organs of power, and our commission—which incidentally, consists of 17 people, including former deputies of various levels, academics, and public figures—recommends the revival of the ancient Russian forms of statehood and self-government which the Bolsheviks destroyed by force. Our commission has prepared a package of documents aimed at reorganizing the representative power and local self-government. All experience of power was thoroughly studied—from the epoch of military governors in Amur, to our own times; all the best was taken from the long history and practice of power. So far we have elaborated a provisionary statute on the fundamentals of the new power; it will be ratified at the first session of the newly elected oblast duma.

[Belyy] So you are having a duma anyway. But no such body existed in Amur before 1917...

[Krivchenko] Yes, that is right, and here we are restoring historical justice. We have a governor—albeit not a military one—but he does not have a system of checks and balances, as the local procommunist press writes. Now there will be one, in the shape of the oblast soviet. Yes a duma—how is the Russian "dumat" [to think] worse than the bureaucratically soviet "soveshchatsya" [to consult]? In line with the fundamentals of the Russian constitutional structure, power in Amur Oblast is exercised by the organs of representative (legislative) power and executive power. The oblast duma is the representative structure of state power, the administration the executive structure. The duma is elected by the population on the basis of universal, direct, equal suffrage by secret ballot every two years—it has 15 deputies. It carries out its activity on a permanent and nonpermnaent basis. The procedure for the organization and holding of elections to the duma and its powers have been elaborated.

[Belyy] And what specifically stands behind the concept of "local self-government"?

[Krivchenko] It will operate within the limits of population centers—cities, microrayons, settlements, villages, stations, farmsteads [khutory], and other centers of habitation, and also in rayons. We have revived that ancient Russian concept, the volost [smallest administrative division of czarist Russia]. It is a territorial administrative unit uniting a few population centers for which the terms "rural soviet" and "settlement soviet" were formerly used. Farmsteads and stations also belong to our history. They are names which, if people so desire, can be restored not only to old cossack settlements, but to new ones as well.

In cities under oblast jurisdiction and rayons the organs of local self-government are the elective representative organ (the city or rayon duma) and the head of local self-government (head of administration), appointed by the oblast governor. The elective representative organ of local self-government is formed by means of the election of between nine and 12 deputies, working, as a rule, on a nonpermanent basis.

I believe that the following is a very important factor. Only citizens of the Russian Federation who have been living on the territory of the given electoral district for not less than three years can be elected to the oblast duma and to the organs of self-government. This will stop the nomination and election of "Varangians" [Norse invaders and founders of Kingdom of Rus], on whom not so long ago the soviets were wholly built, seeking "true people's power" and endlessly flouting the rights and dignity of citizens.

Chechen Clans Postpone Congress 'To Avoid Bloodshed'

LD0201144594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1347 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] The armed delegates of the Chechen teyps (clans and families) who are arriving in the regional center of Shali, 20 kilometers from Groznyy, are sent away by the organizers of this congress.

The congress' headquarters told Interfax that the Chechen clans had put off their congress for a second time "to avoid bloodshed" after commander of the Shali tank regiment Saifutdin Isayev agreed to fulfil the president's order to open fire at the delegates and their supporters if the congress took place.

Earlier, Isayev had supported the idea of organizing such a congress and promised to block the city in order to prevent the president's armed supporters from penetrating into it. "We have put off the congress because we cannot leave the delegates and local population unprotected," said member of the clans' Council Mansur Tagirov. "No one expected Isayev to change his mind so radically," he added.

The Council's headquarters announced that the delegates would be informed of the date and place of the congress a few hours before its opening to prevent the Chechen leaders from sending troops to the place before the congress took the decision on organizing parliamentary elections next April.

International Affairs

Kiev 'Ready' To Swap Warheads for Nuclear Fuel

LD0201132094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Text] The government of Ukraine is ready to start handing over nuclear warheads to Russia as soon as Moscow is able to supply fuel for nuclear power stations as a compensation. This was stated by Aleksandr Shmarov, a vice-premier [as heard] of Ukraine.

Defense Ministry To Replace Peacekeeping Units in Bosnia

WS0401101594 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The press service of the Defense Ministry has reported on the mechanism for the subsequent replacement of the Ukrainian peacekeeping battalion in former Yugoslavia. The personnel of the 420-strong unit is to be replaced during this and the following months. The battalion will be reinforced by another unit that will be entrusted by the command of blue helmets deployed in Bosnia, with controlling the vicinity of the city of Srebrenitsa. All of the Ukrainian draftees are volunteers and serve in the Odessa Military District. Currently, they are completing a special language course.

National Affairs

Present Leadership Push for Supreme Council Elections

MK0401101094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report: "Authorities Speak About Elections, Opposition Speaks About Reforms. But Both Count on Electors' Votes"]

[Text] Filling Ukrainian television airwaves and newspapers, President Leonid Kravchuk, Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch, and his first deputy Vasyl Durdinets spoke about one thing—the need for holding elections for a new Supreme Council of Ukraine. More explicit was Leonid Kravchuk, who stated that "agitation against the elections is agitation against the state." Statements of this sort are quite explainable for two main reasons. First, today's state leaders have realized the need for a new additional legitimation of the old political system of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic led by party nomenklatura in a new political guise. This legitimacy can be lent to the present "party of power" only by new elections in accordance with a formally new election law. Second, the mentioned law gives the party of power political and legislative advantages at the time of elections owing to which each branch of this "party"—pro-president and pro-Soviet—wants to win the elections, eliminate its rivals, and establish its own vision of development of the state.

Leaders of the opposition came up with a totally different assessment of the past year and the new one. Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the People's Rukh of Ukraine, stated that "despite all the actions of leaders of the state it has not yet collapsed. Despite the anti-people majority in the pseudo-parliament, despite the senseless decisions by the Kuchma government, to say nothing about the despicable Kravchuk-Zvyagilski government, we are still holding out." In the opinion of Vyacheslav Chornovil, today too, a majority of Ukraine's population would vote for independence but not the sort of independence offered to them by the present leaders of the country. Vyacheslav Chornovil also said he did not see the next year as being happy. The Rukh leader once again said that the election campaign was difficult because, he stated, the "'party of power' is straining every muscle not to let reformers come to power once again." According to Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ukraine's new parliament will hardly be worse than the present one, and quite probably it is this parliament that will raise the question of forming a government of reforms. Vyacheslav Chornovil assessed the chances of creating such a government as being 50 to 50 percent. "Even if the government jump-starts reforms, in the new year we will already be able to sense some of their results like, for example, a sharp decline in the rate of inflation. Even if there are resolute reforms, stabilization of the living standard and progressive changes in the economy are possible only by the end of the year," the Rukh leader summed up.

Ivan Zayets, chairman of the parliament opposition, has stated that through the fault of the "party of power" last year was a "year of deceleration" when the main mistake of an independent Ukraine revealed itself—no political reform of power had been carried out—which, according to I. Zayets, halted the processes of the state's organizational development. "We should implement the second stage of the national-democratic revolution—to follow up the declaration of independence with decommunization and decolonization. The year 1994 will be crucial. I think we will after all be able to hold the elections, to pass a new constitution and progressive laws. Democracy should win out at the elections, and this will pave the way to reforms. The second half of 1994 will be a time of genuine reforms which would start the mechanism of self-regulation of the economy," Ivan Zayets has stated.

Volodymyr Lanovoy, former first vice premier for questions of economic reform and now general director of the Center for Market Reforms, spoke on the same subject in more restrained terms. He stated that Ukraine needed a government of reformers that would carry out reforms, and only then "will Ukraine see in the next New Year with a different mood."

Kravchuk, Cabinet Meet To Discuss Economic Issues

LD0301193294 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk today held a conference in the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers to discuss a number of topical economic issues such as, in particular, the need to create favorable conditions for the Ukrainian national economy to function this year. The meeting also looked at the state of affairs in implementing the Ukrainian

Supreme Council's resolution on measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in Ukraine.

Acting Ukrainian Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, Vice Premier Vasyl Yevtukhov, National Bank of Ukraine Board Chairman Viktor Yushchenko, State Property Fund Head Volodymyr Pryadko, and representatives of a number of ministries and departments took part in the conference.

Kravchuk Decree Orders Privatization of Gas Stations

LD3012122093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Decree issued by President Leonid Kravchuk; date not given]

[Text] With the aim of stimulating activity to provide the general population with fuel and lubricants and establish the rules of privatizing gas stations that sell fuel and lubricants specifically to the general population and the plots of land these stations are situated on, and in compliance with item seven of Article 114/5 of the Constitution of Ukraine, I decree:

To carry out privatization of gas stations that sell fuel and lubricants specifically to the general population. Along with the privatization of the gas stations, the land on which they are situated will also be privatized. The right to the privatization of the gas stations and plots of land is vested in the citizens of Ukraine, foreign citizens, persons without citizenship, legal entities registered on the territory of Ukraine whose authorized fund contains no share of state property, and legal entities of foreign countries.

A decision on the privatization of gas stations is taken by the State Property Fund of Ukraine, its regional branches whose representations, with the participation of the State Committee of Ukraine for Land Resources and its bodies in the regions. These decisions are, at the same time, decisions on the privatization of plots of land.

The privatization of gas stations and plots of land will be carried out by auction.

Plyushch Decrees Inquiry Into Activity of Steamship Company

AU0301204694 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Dec 93 p 2

["Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree on the Situation That Has Emerged in the Black Sea Steamship Company (Concern 'Blasco')" issued in Kiev on 24 Dec 93]

[Text] Having heard and discussed information by M.M. Popov, the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Standing Commission for Issues of Development of Basic Branches of the National Economy, and by V.P. Ryabokon, chairman of the Supreme Council Standing Commission for Mandates and Questions of Deputies' Ethics, on the situation that has emerged in the Black Sea Steamship Company (Concern "Blasco"), Ukraine's Supreme Council decrees as follows:

1. To authorize Ukraine's Supreme Council's Standing Commission for Issues of Development of Basic Branches of the National Economy, with the participation of Ukraine's people's deputies I.I. Boksha, A.I. Bandura, Ye. A. Hryniv, O.M. Duntau, V.M. Izmalkov, M.I. Potebenko, V.S. Portnoy, M.M. Shvedenko, and V.I. Shyshkin, jointly with Ukraine's Procurator General's Office, Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ukraine's Security Service, to urgently investigate the activity of the Black Sea Steamship Company (Concern "Blasco") and facts expounded in speeches by people's deputies at the plenary session on 23 and 24 December 1993 and information from some officials and mass media on mismanagement in the abovementioned steamship company (Concern "Blasco"); in accordance with the results of the investigation, if necessary, to take proper measures for returning the illegally confiscated state property in line with the current legislation and to report to Ukraine's Supreme Council by 20 January 1994.

To grant to the aforementioned commission powers envisaged by Article 14 of Ukraine's law "On the Status of Ukraine's People's Deputies" regarding the investigative deputies' commission.

2. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers must, by 28 December 1993, verify the expediency and legitimacy of the bilateral agreements concluded between the Black Sea Steamship Company and Maritime Partner HMBH, Hamburg, Germany (the general agent HA) on 2 and 3 August 1993.

To submit to Ukraine's Supreme Council, as soon as possible, the valuation of currency contributions to the budget from the activity of the Black Sea Steamship Company for the 1991-93 fiscal years.

[Signed] Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council I. Plyushch

[Dated] Kiev, 24 December 1993

Parliament Vetoes Presidential Edict on Company

AU0301204794 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Dec 93 p 2

["Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree on the Ukrainian Presidential Edict of 13 August 1993 'On Creating the Joint-Stock Ship Building Concern 'Blasco'—the 'Black Sea Steamship Company'"" issued in Kiev on 24 Dec 93]

[Text] Ukraine's Supreme Council decrees as follows:

In accordance with item 29 of Article 97 of Ukraine's Constitution, to impose a veto on the Ukrainian Presidential Edict of 13 August 1993 "On Creating the Joint-Stock Steamship Concern 'Blasco'—'The Black Sea Steamship Company'" as being at variance with items 4-2 and 7-4 of Article 114-5 of Ukraine's Constitution (Main Law).

Kuchma, Hrynyov Call For Strong Rapport With Russia

WS0301142394 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 24 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Georgiy Chernomorskiy: "Volodymyr Hrynyov and Leonid Kuchma Connect Their Hopes With Economic Revival and... Elections"]

[Text] Volodymyr Hrynyov and Leonid Kuchma, who have formed the Interregional Bloc for Reforms, held their first press conference last week. All the questions asked by journalists basically brought up three issues: The upcoming elections, the economic situation of Ukraine, and prospects for its relations with Russia following the victory of the Zhirinovksiy party in the elections for parliament. Strange as it may seem, the journalists first brought up the third issue.

No doubt, Leonid Kuchma said, I would prefer to see a party supporting Yeltsin get the majority of the votes. There is nothing we can do about it. People who voted for the Liberal Democratic Party voiced in the first place their discontent with economic failures and general impoverishment. At the same time, stressed Mr. Kuchma, one should not dramatize the situation—Zhirinovskiys come and go, but Russia will always remain. For all pledges of help, no country of the world community provided any tangible economic aid to Ukraine. So whether you like it or not, the success of our economic reforms is impossible without close ties with Moscow. In addition, the strong union of Russia and Ukraine would secure the geopolitical peace in the region.

Mr. Hrynyov approached this issue from a different perspective. The worst thing for me, he said, is not that Zhirinovskiy won but that the centrist forces have failed. This should become a good lesson for us. We must seek to unite democratic forces.

Another question was whether the Interregional Bloc would cooperate with Rukh in the elections, how close this cooperation would be, and if it was possible that both organizations might recall their candidates in favor of one another.

We are ready to cooperate with all progressive forces, said Hrynyov, that put the individual above the rest of the values. The individual, society, and the state—this is the order of preference that holds sway in civilized countries. Unfortunately, Rukh is currently cooperating with organizations that advocate quite the opposite principles. However, I do not rule out forming electoral blocs in the hinterland.

Mr. Hrynyov noted that he firmly stands for a federative division of Ukraine. In his opinion, this presents sizable economic advantages for the country. As for regional authorities, it is easier for them to decide what enterprises should be privatized, put up for auction, sold, or simply shut down.

Mr. Kuchma was just as specific on this issue. He prefers the German option of state division, where with a strong central power, local parliaments retain a considerable portion of power, which provides them with efficient economic leverages for the local economies. In that country, rights go along with responsibilities. Although local authorities there funnel substantial funds to the federative budget, they actively influence industry, agriculture, and trade in their regions. Otherwise, they would go bankrupt. In Ukraine, however, some of the oblasts live at the cost of their neighbors.

Leonid Kuchma and Volodymyr Hrynyov were pretty skeptical about government activities, seeing the main thrust of its efforts being—to put it mildly—misdirected. They also think that during a transition period, it is impossible to build a strong economy without a strong government. Unfortunately, neither the executive branch nor the president's actions can be called strong.

In a usual straightforward manner, Mr. Kuchma made it clear that Ukraine is now facing the question: To be or not to be? Unfortunately, we are sharing the same oil bucket with Russia—and if we fail to pay that country for energy sources, we are going to kick this bucket.

Our correspondent asked why our living standards dropped ten-fold at a time when production decreased only by half. Leonid Kuchma said that production should not necessarily slump proportionately to the drop in living standards. There are some enterprises, for example, that could be closed without people ever noticing this. However, there are more difficult cases. As an example, he cited the Southern Machine-Building Plant [Yuzhmash]. While this enterprise manufactured up to 60,000 tractors per year, its present output is one tractor per day. Gas supplies to the enterprise were reduced by 90 percent. We used to say restructuring and reform. These are all merely words—in reality, we were basically destroying the economy.

Interior Ministry Appeals to Citizens To Fight Corruption

LD0401102494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0155 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By unidentified UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 4 Jan—In an appeal to the citizens of Ukraine, the Interior Ministry of the republic has called for a decisive fight against corruption, speculation, bribery, and the squandering of national property to be carried out on a broad front with the help of the population.

Foodstuffs, industrial goods, and essential raw materials, the document stresses, are being taken out of the country in various ways. The existing transparent borders, the lack of respect for laws, and the desire of some enterprises, commercial organizations, and individual citizens to get rich in this way are to a certain extent helping to make the situation significantly more acute. A criminal group that was trying to take 30 metric tons of nickel into Poland worth a total of $113,000 dollars was recently discovered by employees of interior affairs bodies.

Over the last two years, more than 40,000 attempts to smuggle out of Ukraine goods worth 1 trillion karbovantsi have been foiled by the military. More than 5,000 metric

tons of grain, almost 12,000 metric tons of sugar, more than 1,000 metric tons of vegetable oil, and 3,000 metric tons of non-ferrous and rare earth metals have been returned to the state.

In connection with this, the Supreme Council and government have recently adopted several legislative acts for stabilizing the economic situation in the republic and defending its consumer market. The interior affairs bodies are relying on the understanding and support of the population for implementing these measures.

Ukraine's Interior Ministry, the appeal stresses, along with the security bodies, border guards, and customs officials will do all they can in the future to make sure the border is firmly closed and to protect the consumer market in a reliable fashion.

Electoral Commission Registers Liberal Democratic Party

LD0401113694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0904 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—The Central Electoral Commission registered the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine [LDPU] on 3 January as the 20th party that will nominate candidates during the upcoming elections to the Ukrainian parliament. As Volodymyr Klymchuk, the party's leader told a UNIAN correspondent, the "LDPU is cautious about forming blocs with other political forces. It is, above all, afraid of the efforts that have been announced by some blocs to form excessively rigid structures that could hinder the opportunity to operate independently. However, this does not mean that the liberal democrats will halt contacts and consultations with other parties."

According to Klymchuk, the communists and socialists are the only ones considered by the LDPU to be opponents.

More on Registering Parties

LD3012132293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0901 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent was informed today at the Central Electoral Commission for the elections of Ukrainian people's deputies that, in accordance with Article 14 of the Law on Elections, the Central Electoral Commission has adopted resolutions registering the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the People's Movement of Ukraine, the Party of Labor, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Party of Solidarity and Social Justice, the Party of Free Peasants of Ukraine, the Peasants' Party of Ukraine, the Socialist Party of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, in connection with their intention to nominate candidates for participation in the elections of Ukrainian people's deputies on 27 March 1994. Central Electoral Commission Chairman Ivan Yemets handed representative of the above political parties the relevant registration certificates.

A total of 17 political parties have so far been registered by the Central Electoral Commission. None of them have expressed any desire to form a bloc at national level. Commenting on this phenomenon, the Central Electoral Commission's secretary, Ihor Tseluyko, explains: "The point is that it is disadvantegeous for parties to form a bloc at the level of the Central Electoral Commission, since in accordance with the law a bloc can only enter one candidate. It is only at the regional level that blocs declared at party congresses are likely to appear, which will at least enable them to bring through a deputy from a friendly camp, if not one of their own."

Former Defense Minister Confirms Decision To Run

WS0301142194 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 25 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Volodimir Chakalin: "Konstyantyn Morozov: 'I Count on Voter Support'"]

[Text] For some two months, Konstyantyn Morozov did not meet with journalists. For the first time in two years, he took a vacation. On 5 December, after finishing his vacation, he addressed an appeal to the president and the commander in chief of the Ukrainian Armed Forces requesting permission to resign from the Armed Forces.

Therefore, he appeared before the audience in civilian clothes. He was elegant and cheerful. Only his sad eyes showed what he had lived through since he was dismissed as Ukraine's first defense minister. In my mind, he is living through a tragic moment in his life: He was the first to swear allegiance to Ukraine and has done a lot to help build our independent Armed Forces, and he could do even more if he were to stay. However, this is not his personal tragedy but a tragedy of his colleagues who believed in him and came with him to the Defense Ministry.

This meeting with the ex-defense minister was organized by the Association of Students "Hurt." This move is the first political action of "Hurt." It is symbolic that Konstyantyn Morozov met with students first: They were the first to support the independence of Ukraine.

During his meeting with Kiev students, Konstyantyn Morozov told students about his activities as Ukrainian defense minister and discussed issues of national security. For more than two hours, he answered students' questions. Of course, the first question was: Why did you retire? Morozov said: "I always answer for all my actions. However, when the government was dismissed, I understood quite well that the acting Supreme Council will not nominate me to the post of defense minister because I opposed our CIS membership. In addition, I had my own viewpoint on the problems of the Black Sea Fleet. Hence, my resignation. Our president has approved my step."

Morozov stated that he was pressed by the Cabinet of Ministers and received written threats from special security organs. He provided an example of how his attempts to combat corruption in the Armed Forces were obstructed. For example, a Cabinet of Ministers decree had established a commercial structure within a long-range aviation unit. Regular monitoring of that unit revealed many financial

violations and abuses of the law. The defense minister had issued an order halting the activities of this commercial structure within the Armed Forces. However, the new defense minister started his activities by repealing Morozov's order.

The public asked Konstyantyn Morozov about the fighting condition of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, the nuclear arms issues, and prospects for restructuring Ukraine's Armed Forces. The ex-minister confirmed to the audience that the Republic's nuclear warheads are in a state of combat readiness. Answering a question on if a civilian should be named defense minister, he said: "In my opinion, sooner or later Ukraine will have a civilian defense minister."

Speaking about his plans, Morozov explained that he has received a lot of proposals from various political parties and movements to run in the upcoming Supreme Council elections. The ex-minister has not yet made a final decision to represent a specific political movement, but he is going to run in Kiev.

Organization Demands Measures Against Crimean Elections

AU0301212494 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 50 (131), Dec 93 p 2

["Appeal by the Crimean Civic Congress to Ukraine's Supreme Council and President Regarding Crimean Presidential Elections"]

[Text] As is known to you, despite the current legislation, Ukrainian Constitution, and public protests, the Crimean Supreme Council has introduced the institution of presidency and appointed the Crimean presidential elections for 16 January 1994.

The course of the election campaign has revealed an unconcealed antistate, anti-Ukrainian, and chauvinist orientation of programs adhered to by many presidential candidates. The mass media are full of malice against Ukraine and call for restoring the USSR and going under Russia's flag.

The Crimean Ukrainian public and political organizations came out decisively against the introduction of the institution of presidency in the Crimea, since this may lead to the obstruction of the central presidential power, strengthening of separatism and confrontation, and is, possibly, the last attempt to sever the Crimea from Ukraine, something which threatens its territorial integrity, peace, and quiet.

In addition, during this time of crisis, the holding of Crimean presidential elections will be an additional material burden upon the electorate and will later lead to an expansion of the bureaucratic apparatus, which is too inflated even now.

The Crimean Ukrainian Civic Congress, whose constituent congress was held on 28 November 1993, has employed the tactics of active political and legal counteraction to the illegal Crimean presidential elections and has, for this purpose, enlisted the services of state and public structures. However, we are extremely surprised and alarmed by your inert and reticent position regarding the events in the Crimea. Nor do the Crimean Tatar people, who have been constantly supporting Ukraine's state-building policy, but have encountered an indifferent attitude toward their problems, understand the silence of official Kiev.

The actions by Ivan Yermakov, Ukrainian presidential representative in Sevastopol, are disloyal with regard to the Ukrainian state. He has recently taken a direct part in procommunist and chauvinist gatherings and expressed support for anti-Ukrainian circles.

The fact that he decided to nominate himself as a Crimean presidential candidate shows his contempt for the Ukrainian legislature, the fulfillment of which he was supposed to guarantee. Ivan Yermakov's 11 December 1993 appeal, full of groundless and contemptuous criticism of Ukrainian leadership, marks his transition to an open opposition to the Ukrainian president, Supreme Council, and government. At a conference of leaders of Sevastopol enterprises and organizations on 13 December 1993, he stated that he considered the institution of Ukrainian presidential representatives inexpedient. Does such a represer ative of the Ukrainian president have the right to occupy this position?

The Ukrainian Civic Congress demands that Ukraine's Supreme Council and president do the following:

1. Consider the question of the systematic violation of the Ukrainian Constitution and current legislation in the Crimea.

2. Condemn the attempt by the Communist Party nomenklatura to introduce the institution of presidency and to cancel the Crimean presidential elections as being at variance with Ukraine's current legislation.

3. To implement Ukraine's law "On the Ukrainian Presidential Representation in the Crimea."

4. To remove Ivan Yermakov from his post as Ukrainian presidential representative in the Crimea.

5. In carrying out the Ukrainian state-building policy in the Crimea, to rely upon patriotic political and public organizations.

Prospects for Electoral Bloc of National Democrats Viewed

WS0301180294 Kiev UKRAYINA MOLODA in Ukrainian 28 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Vyacheslav Shkhovchek: "Hopes for Cooperation Will Die Last"]

[Text] The time when national democrats will unite their efforts in the parliamentary or presidential election campaigns will be an event comparable in significance to the first manned space flight. Despite the fact that statements about the "permanent cooperation of democratic forces in the face of a communist threat" are predominant in the majority of national democrats' speeches, optimistic voices are increasingly fading. All the democrats declare their

commitment to the idea of a single bloc, yet every one of them acknowledges that such a bloc is far from likely.

"The issue of forming blocs," says Ukrainian Republican Party Chairman Mykhaylo Horyn, "is a very subtle one. Talks on it are in progress. I guess that there will be several meetings, at which we will try to come together. The main reservations with regard to the formation of such a bloc are from the left-centrist forces: the Labor Congress and the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine [PDRU]. However, I think that the last word has not been said, and we are still hoping to achieve some type of accord. Especially as PDRU leaders are continuing their consultations with us; I hope we will reach an agreement. If this, to our regret, does not happen, then we will have several blocs: left-centrist, right-centrist, centrist, and, as usual, a socialist and communist bloc. If the extreme rightists will form a bloc, I cannot say, but they are also preparing for the elections."

The behavior of democratic forces during the parliamentary elections is a point of great importance, because the electoral campaign will reveal the actual state of matters in the camp of Ukrainian democrats and become a "dress rehearsal" of the fight for the highest state post.

Several months ago it seemed that an accord, at least among certain national and democratic groupings, would be achieved. Testifying to this belief was the joint declaration of 18 political parties and trade unions to create an electoral bloc. However, several weeks passed, and some centrifugal trends have become evident within the newly created democratic coalition.

At first, the leaders of free trade unions stated that their representatives had not participated in the conference and, therefore, they are not obliged to fulfill the conference's resolutions. Soon afterward, democratic trade unions created a new organization—the Free Trade Unions of Ukraine —which is going to participate in the elections on an independent basis. "I can say," says Serhiy Klimov, deputy head of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine and head of the trade union at the production amalgamation Donetskivuhilla, who can influence the distribution of 30 deputy seats, "that our trade union, according to the resolution of member organizations, will directly participate in elections. It has been resolved, for the time being, to not attach ourselves to some bloc or political party. We will support independent candidates or put forth our own representatives. I am convinced that 90 percent of those supported by us will win deputy seats. In the future parliament, our lobby will influence the course of legislative change in a direction more preferable to trade unions."

This separate position astonished leaders of those organizations which formerly tried to cooperate with trade unions. The creation of the temporary Rukh and trade unions staff on the eve of the adoption of a new electoral law boded well for the permanence of such cooperation. "I do not understand why trade union leaders have not decided to form a single coalition bloc with us," says deputy head of Rukh Oleksandr Lavrynovich. "Everywhere in the world, politics is handled by parties, while trade unions are concerned with the social protection of their members." It is no secret that Rukh leaders cherished great hopes for the bloc with trade unions; they expected to drive with trade unions some portion of the Rukh candidates in eastern and central regions. However, the Supreme Council has adopted a majority-type electoral law entitling trade unions to field their own candidates on a par with parties. It is clear that this circumstance has turned them off from further cooperation with Rukh.

Still it seems that Rukh has not lost hope for an agreement with trade unions. The draft electoral program, which was submitted for approval by the Rukh Congress on 10-12 December, devoted an entire chapter to trade union issues. "Trade unions," reads the text, which was clearly intended to catch the fancy of trade unionists, "should become the main guarantors of obeying the law on hired labor, independently of the branch of production or form of property."

Thus, while analyzing the formation of preelection blocs, one discerns without difficulty the lack of unity among the democratic parties. At the same time, their political opponents prefer more practical actions. The symptoms of that can be traced in the selection of central and district electoral commission members, as well as in the distribution of electoral districts between the members of the Kravchuk-Plyushch team, which is intended to remove unnatural competition between representatives of this team. For instance, with the exception of Ivan Plyushch, no one from the nomenklatura, which is generally pacified both by its nonparty alignment and "scuffles" between democrats and communists, is going to run in the elections in Barishevski rayon of Kiev Oblast.

Balance of Forces in 'Democratic' Electoral Bloc Viewed

WS0301175694 Kiev UNIAN OHLYADY, KOMENTARI, PROHNOZY in Ukrainian No 31 30 Dec 93

[Report by Oleksiy Mustafin: "Unity of National Democrats May Result in Their Joint Defeat"]

[Text] Delegates and guests of the Fifth Rukh Congress had a wonderful occasion to see an "unofficial" show. Following the invitation of Vyacheslav Chornovil, political leaders who had signed an agreement on forming the Council of Democratic Parties and Organizations took the rostrum and ceremonially swore to put an end to discord and join efforts for the victory of democracy. That was a touchy scene, even though the Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine had reneged on its commitments to join the council.

It is too early to announce the premature death of the Council of Democratic Parties and Organizations, but there is no doubt that the "child" is afflicted with a serious congenital disease. The fathers of the council were too inharmonious and there was too broad an incongruity between their slogans and practical goals.

The council was formed at the initiative of leaders of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] and the Democratic Party. These parties have always demonstrated their loyalty to the president and given preference to access to power

rather than the ephemeral unity of democratic forces. The URP has always opposed all kinds of blocs and coalitions, and agreed to join the latter only if was granted a leading position. Such coalitions inevitably became URP delegations and "independent players" quickly lost interest in their activities.

It is understood that Republicans' unexpected desire to unite was prompted by purely practical considerations. Republican stakes in the upcoming elections are not very high and slogans like "Unity above all!" may increase chances for victory at the expense of possible partners. The URP remains loyal to its former strategy and will try to gain control over the future coalition.

Republicans need the council, both to gain additional weight and neutralize its rivals. On the one hand, the URP cannot compete with representatives of the "party of power"; on the other hand, Republicans are trying to avoid competition with the Rukh and other national-democratic forces. The "peaceful" division of electoral districts between URP and the Rukh can be achieved through the newly formed council. The URP dreams of a situation in which its candidates could be nominated only in the districts in which there are neither Rukh nor "party of power" representatives, even more so if this could be done under the camouflage of consolidating the democratic movement.

Having realized that the goals of the council are different from its declarations, the more moderate organizations began to back out. The example of the Party of Democratic Renaissance was followed by the "Greens." The Rukh found itself in a ticklish situation. Its leaders realized that they had been involved in somebody's schemes, having no control over the situation. It was not by coincidence that the URP-oriented Union of Ukrainian Students was invited to join the council, why the Rukh-affiliated Ukrainian Students' Association was not. Neither was the newly formed Youth Rukh Organization. However, the Rukh cannot abandon the council because in this case its leaders could be blamed for splitting the "national democratic forces."

Those claiming that the Rukh made a strategic mistake in 1992, are probably right. At that time, following a declaration on opposition to the official power, the organization should have emphasized socioeconomic reform rather than national and cultural ideas. As a result of this mistake, forces representing similar ideas (the Party of Democratic Renaissance, the "Greens," and social-democrats) have not been included in the coalition, while those who threatened to destroy "the Chornovil movement" became its members.

Cooperation between the Rukh and the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists [KUN] is the only possible counterbalance to URP domination of the council. Both parties have similar political programs and oppose the current administration, considered by them the successor of the Soviet nomenklatura. Finally, both the Rukh and the Congress have a very "cautious" attitude toward the Republican and Democratic Parties.

However, there exists a certain difference in views between the KUN leadership and the rank and file, limiting the chances for cooperation with the Rukh. The leadership of the Congress is closer to the Rukh than its provincial organizations. Very often, especially in West Ukraine, Rukh and KUN advocates find themselves in two opposing camps.

As a rule, candidates for deputies will be nominated not in accordance with their professional qualities, but in accordance with their party membership. Reliable sources have reported that in Poltava, for instance, URP will nominate its candidates in every district in which a Rukh candidate is registered. A similar situation may develop throughout eastern and central Ukraine, reducing the chances of all democratic candidates.

Lvov Oblast Council Bans 'Subversive' Communist Party

WS0301205394 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Yuriy Kril: "A Specter of Communism, Which Haunted the Lvov Region for a Long Time, Has Been Dispersed by Authorities"]

[Text] A special resolution adopted by the Lvov Oblast Council has deemed as subversive the activities of the reconstituted and illegally registered Communist Party of Ukraine. The resolution imposes a ban on issuing permits for staging mass communist rallies, as well as granting communist organizations facilities and telephone lines for their activities. Communist publications must not be circulated. Communists must not act as official co-organizers of any undertakings.

Thus, communists are being ruled with a rod of iron. Although there is no information regarding any punishments for violating the ban, from now on communists can hardly be expected to hold open party meetings. They have no choice but to continue their activities underground. Had it not been for the Oblast Council attack of rage, communists could have been kept under the authorities' watchful eye.

Civil Congress Urges 'Close' Union Within CIS Framework

WS0301205294 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Extraordinary Congress of the Civil Congress Discusses Tasks, That Is, Preelection Platform"]

[Text] The Fourth Emergency Congress of the Ukrainian Civil Congress was held in Kharkov and attended by deputies representing 17 regions. Having discussed the organization's election platform, participants in the congress came to the conclusion that regional organizations should independently determine the strategy of their electoral campaign, in light of local conditions and following guidelines drafted by the forum.

The Civil Congress is a leftist-centrist organization ready to cooperate with political forces fighting against nationalist extremism and advocating Ukraine's equal membership in

an economic union with other former republics of the USSR. The delegates adopted a political declaration urging the formation of a close economic, diplomatic, military, and humanitarian union on the basis of the CIS; a resolution on the religious situation in Ukraine, and a statement regarding celebrations of the 340th anniversary of Ukraine's unification with Russia on 8 January 1994.

Nationalists Say 'National Dictatorship' Only Solution

WS0301130194 Rivne RIVNE in Ukrainian 25 Dec 93 p 3

[Report by Vasyl Lukyanchuk: "1993—the Year of Ukraine's Defeat"]

[Text] This was the conclusion of the Fourth Congress of the national union Ukraine's State Independence [DSU]. The year 1993 has become a year of defeats of the Ukrainian people: As a result of the collaboration of the democratic-communist elite with Moscow, Washington, and Tel Aviv, certain agreements have been signed, which endanger Ukraine's sovereignty, its territorial integrity, and its Armed Forces. During this year, Ukraine has not even approached its long-dreamed independence.

Thanks to the communists and the democrats, who are Russian and American fifth columns, as well as due to their protectionist policy toward the Russian and Jewish ethnic minorities, the situation of the Ukrainians on their own soil has become unbearable.

Nowadays, the Ukrainians are kept even farther away from the levers of power than on the eve of the proclamation of independence; the birthrate has dramatically dropped, mortality among the Ukrainians has increased, and life expectancy has considerably decreased.

Russification is rampant: Stores are jammed with Russian Stalinist literature and OSTANKINO has spread its expansionist propaganda to the Ukraine. At the same time, Ukrainian publications and books are disappearing.

The Russian language dominates on the streets, in courts, in the Army, and at the Supreme Council. Separatist movements are flexing their muscles.

The socioeconomic situation of the Ukrainians has deteriorated, living conditions have declined, and foreign capital has become deep-rooted on our territories.

Ukraine has become a territory, on which counterespionage services of hostile states operate freely: First of all, these include the Russia's KGB and Counterintelligence Service, America's CIA, and the Jewish Mosad. Agents from these countries have become leaders of a majority of Ukrainian parties, movements, banks, and funds. There are plenty of them in the Supreme Council, the president's offices, the Security Service of Ukraine, and the General Staff of the Navy. Simultaneously, patriotic officers are being released from duty in the Armed Forces.

Due to the defeatist policy of [Ukrainian President] Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine has lost the Black Sea Fleet and its tactical nuclear weapons. In accordance with agreements signed by the president, tanks, airplanes, armored carriers, and the equipment of the Antiaircraft Defense are being dismantled. Russian troops still remain on Ukrainian land. Parties comprising advocates of Ukraine's statehood are persecuted by the democratic-communist structures: Telephones belonging to activists of the national movement are being bugged and their correspondence monitored; activities of Ukrainian economic structures are hampered; statements by DSU, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party [UKRP], and the Union of Ukrainian Youth are sporadically presented by the media. Television is available only for Kravchuk's servants, the Russian and Jewish ethnic minorities, and adherents of Western "values." The official press is conducting a smear campaign against Ukrainian patriots, which is called the fight against Ukrainian fascism. The anti-Ukrainian authorities are trying to ban opposition newspapers, particularly NESKORENA NATSIYA, as well as to arrest their editors and other leading Ukrainian journalists.

The political trials of members of DSU, UKRP, the Ukrainian National Assembly, the Ukrainian National Self Defense, and the Volyn Sich Cossacks are being continued. Ukrainian patriots still remain in prisons.

Today, only Ukrainian nationalism with its program principles—"Ukrainian state above all!" and "Ukraine for Ukrainians!"—is able to avert a national catastrophe.

The main task of DSU is to unite all the patriotic forces of Ukraine around the nationalistic idea, as well as to shake off our necks the shameful foreign yoke. It is necessary to introduce a national dictatorship for a transitional period of national liberation and for establishing a national infrastructure.

National dictatorship is an urgent necessity of the transitional period. Only national dictatorship is capable of fulfilling the historic task of reviving Ukrainian statehood, as well as of establishing a just nationalistic order and a permanent political system in Ukraine.

Association Professes National Expansion, Nuclear Status

AU3012194093 Kiev NESKORENA NATSIYA in Ukrainian No. 19 (42), Dec 93 p 4

[Statement by the All-Ukrainian Political Association "Ukrainian State Independence" (DSU): "The Political Philosophy of the DSU"]

[Text] The ideology of the DSU is not restricted to the interests of a social or party group, stratum, or class, but expresses the interests of the nation. The political ideology of the DSU is natiocratic [natsiokratychna]. The association strives to build a natiocratic state in which the UKRAINIAN NATION will be the source of power.

Nation is the main concept in the DSU's political philosophy. The rights and interests of the nation are the main criteria of our actions. The government is legitimate when it is guided by the interests of the Ukrainian nation.

The task of the state is to serve the nation and to be a powerful instrument in its political and spiritual self-assertion and in its historic activity. The power of the Ukrainian nation will also guarantee the rights of every member of this great entity.

When we say "nation" we mean an "ethnos," which controls itself and ethnic minorities. For us, the notions "nation" and "state" are inseparable.

The WILL, POWER, and GRANDEUR of the NATION is the triad of our political philosophy. The national will primarily expresses internal aspirations of the ethnos, which has acquired its statehood. The category "power of the nation" has both internal and external political dimensions. Control over itself is not the ultimate goal of a nation. A nation strives to expand its influence and its power imperatives beyond its own territory. A full-fledged national idea cannot remain confined to the boundaries of its own state and it expands beyond internal national problems. It is characterized by messianic aspirations. A nation strives to make its own values and its own understanding of the world a legacy of other nations in order to sow its seed on the soil of other states.

Every developed nation strives to create a civilization and include other nations into the sphere of its influence and into its sociocultural sphere.

A great nation is a nation that has achieved success in all spheres of self-expression, played all the roles meant for it by BIRTH [Rid], and is capable of teaching the world and influencing the course of history. Such a nation is ideal and such a nation is majestic [mayestatychna]!

We do not conceal our desire to witness Ukraine's world grandeur. Yes, we want Ukraine to become a political, economic, and cultural superpower.

Political power is created by military force. In order to become a weighty political factor in history and in order to renounce the pernicious principle of neutrality, Ukraine must become a military and powerful state.

A country that does not want to be pushed to the background and that strives to influence historical processes, must be a nuclear power. That is why, despite the unprecedented pressure exerted upon us by the United States and Russia, Ukraine must keep its nuclear weapons.

The 21st century will become an epoch of natiocratic revolutions. The Western civilization, which is based upon liberal democratic (but, in fact, transformed Judaic) values, has exhausted its creative potential. The Russian civilization is also moving toward a catastrophe. The natiocratic ideas of Mykola Mikhnovskyy, Dmytro Dontsov, Mykola Stsiborskyy, and Stepan Bandera are victoriously spreading. The sun of the 21st century that rises over Ukraine will herald the advent of a total natiocratic renaissance to the world.

Activist Lists Achievements of Army Trade Union

AU3012211293 Kiev UKRAYINSKI OBRIYI in Ukrainian No. 21 (30) Dec 93 p 4

[Article by Colonel O. Slyusarev: "The Members of Ukraine's Officers' Union Have Something To Think About"]

[Text] **What has the Officers' Trade Union Organization achieved over the period of its existence?**

1. Transferred approximately 1,000 officers serving outside Ukraine, those whom Ukraine's Ministry of Defense did not want to accept (General Ihnatenko) into Ukraine's Armed Forces.

2. Forced K. Morozov's Defense Ministry to provide us with 12 Il-76 aircraft for transferring 500 officers, members of their families, and household effects from Azerbaijan to Ukraine, as well as automobiles for transporting their belongings from airports to their residences in Ukraine.

3. Forced the government of the defense minister of Azerbaijan to pay increased monetary compensation for the living quarters rented in Azerbaijan by members of the organization at the rate of 5,000 Russian rubles [R] per one square meter of total area and not R3,000 per one square meters of useful area. In comparison with other servicemen, members of the organization obtained an additional R250,000-300,000 in September 1992 prices.

4. By the organization's actions and with the help of the Supreme Council, forced K. Morozov's Defense Ministry to cancel Order No. 194 on introducing the notorious contract system for the continuation of service in Ukraine's Armed Forces.

5. In March 1993, won the court case against the Darnytsya housing office as a result of which an apartment in Kiev became the property of Captain Yermakov and his family. The court took the side of the trade union, even though, in accordance with the law, Yermakov had not been entitled to that apartment because neither he nor the members of his family were registered in that apartment. It was the serviceman's father who had lived there before he died. The organization maintained the empty apartment for five months until Yermakov was transferred from the Transbaykal region to Ukraine's Armed Forces.

6. In August 1993, won the court case against Major General Gvozdev, chief of the Air Defense Academy, who demanded the eviction of the family of Lieutenant Colonel Avramenko, a graduate of the academy, from the official apartment and for that reason ordered not to issue a payment book to him. Avramenko and his family continue to live in the same apartment and the payment book is in his pocket.

7. In October 1993, forced the Council of People's Deputies of Bila Tserkva to put an end to the procrastination and allocate plots of land for building to the housing construction society "Hayok"—our cell in Bila Tserkva. The chairman of the local council, Shulypa, resolved this question positively.

8. Protected member of the organization Major of the Guard Lalak from being dismissed into the reserve before reaching the length of service entitling him to benefits, despite the fact that two assessment commissions in the regiment and the division unanimously decided that it was "expedient to dismiss him into the reserve." The organization conducted explanatory work with the command, and the latter adopted the only correct decision—to allow him to continue his service.

9. Forced head of the Zaliznychnyy District Military Committee to renounce its illegal action—an attempt to dismiss member of the organization Major Melnykov into the reserve without providing him with housing. An additional session on legal training sufficed.

10. Instituted court proceedings against Defense Minister Colonel General K. Morozov in order to protect the honor and dignity of the Trade Union of Ukrainian Servicemen and its right to existence. However, after Morozov was dismissed from his post, the Independent Trade Union of Ukrainian Servicemen dropped the case.

All of the above is quite sufficient to prove that the Independent Trade Union of Ukrainian Servicemen, which unites within its ranks the most conscious, best organized, and honored Ukrainian officers, is the only organization of servicemen capable of protecting its members and contributing to the honor, dignity, and significance of officers, as well as making our army one of the most advanced armies in the world.

What can the Ukrainian Officers' Union say to this to justify itself?

Belarus

Shushkevich Signs CIS Security Treaty

LD0301195794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1844 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Belarusian leader Stanislav Shushkevich has put his signature to the Treaty on Collective Security of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya told INTERFAX Shushkevich had done so since, as he said in a note to Korotchenya, Belarus's previous form of joining the treaty had been given "ambiguous interpretations."

Several months ago, Shushkevich sent out letters to the Commonwealth heads of state saying that the legislature had instructed him to sign the treaty. He told parliament he considered the letters to be a formalization of Belarus's membership in the CIS collective security system.

'Second Stage' of Reform To Reduce Army to 100,000

WS0301193794 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1815 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] A BELINFORM correspondent has been told at the Defense Ministry press center that the second stage of reform in the Belarusian Armed Forces will be carried out in 1994. There will be further reductions in the personnel of the former Belarusian Military District, which had numbered 250,000 troops at the beginning of the reform process. Supporting such a force was beyond the capabilities of the Republic's budget. In addition, the country's new military doctrine stipulates the forming of a nonnuclear force sufficient to protect the national sovereignty of Belarus. By the end of 1994, troop strength in the Belarusian Army will have fallen to 100,000.

Defense Ministry on Reductions

WS0401101794 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The Belarusian Defense Ministry told a BELINFORM correspondent that a distinctive feature of the Belarusian Armed Forces this year would be completing the second stage of their reorganization. The former Belarusian Military District will continue to reduce its forces, which until recently numbered about 250,000 servicemen, and was an unbearable burden to the state budget. In addition, according to the new Belarusian military doctrine based on the nonnuclear status, the size of the Armed Forces should be reduced to the levels sufficient only to defend the country's sovereignty and security. The size of the Belarusian Army is expected to shrink to 100,000 servicemen within the year.

Prime Minister Signs Agreement on Russian Gas Deliveries

WS0301153294 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1100 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Unattributed report: "Kebich Meets With Russian 'Gazprom' Leadership"]

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has received the leadership of the Russian "Gazprom" Association. During the meeting, both parties discussed issues regarding the delivery of Russian gas to Belarus until the year 2010. Participants in the meeting signed an agreement according to which Russia will pump 16 billion cubic meters of gas to Belarus. In the future, this volume is likely to exceed the aforementioned amount by two times.

Kazakhstan

Government Introduces Emergency Measures To Curb Inflation

LD0401110994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] As ITAR-TASS reports, emergency measures have been taken in Kazakhstan to lower inflation. Wages and all types of bonus payments in the republic are now being strictly linked to the amount and quality of labor. By doing this, the leadership of Kazakhstan hopes to stop the practice of adjusting money payments to cover inflation. The new procedure for payments is compulsory for all enterprises. Inspection bodies have been given the right to withdraw from consumption funds any unmerited sums that have been paid out and to transfer them to local budget revenues.

Central Election Commission Issues Decree on Elections

LD3112195593 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0000 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Excerpt] The Central Election Commission has issued a decree to explain the provisions of the election law in the Republic of Kazakhstan; the rights of citizens and public movements to campaign in favor of this or that candidate; and ensure strict observation of existing regulations on pre-election campaigning.

Campaigning is not allowed on the day before voting or on voting day. It is not permitted to post up election materials on the premises of a polling station or of a polling district; to circulate anonymous election materials. People working for state bodies and the local bodies of self-management are not allowed to campaign.

Because candidates and their supporters have to make public speeches to the electorate and put up election posters in order to campaign for the election, district election commissions should provide deputies with free halls for election meetings. The issue of providing deputies with premises should be examined in five days.

In agreement with a regional television and radio company, a district election commission should ensure that each candidate for the Kazakh Supreme Kenges has an opportunity to present his platform in Kazakh or Russian and place advertisements, provided he pays for this with the money to be allocated by the Central Election Commission for his election campaign. Each candidate will be allocated 10 minutes on the radio and 10 minutes on television, irrespective of where he works. A speech can be presented once or repeatedly.

The republic's public movements, which have been registered by the Law Ministry, are allocated 30 minutes of air time on Kazakh radio and television [words indistinct]. Self-nominated candidates are allocated an additional five minutes on regional and city television or radio. The schedule for allocating air-time to deputies will be compiled by the leadership of a regional television and radio company and will be approved by a district election commission.

The editorial staff of newspapers founded by the regional administrations and administrations of Almaty and Leninsk, as well as of other publications, should promptly publish the background of candidates, their platforms, and pictures [passage indistinct].

During the election campaign, the mass media should not favor this or that candidate, election association, or election platform.

A law-enforcement body and a district election commission should call to account those who breach the law on elections by circulating pre-election reports which do not correspond to reality and discredit the honor or dignity of a deputy and his agent.

[Words indistinct] to ensure that each candidate to the Supreme Kenges enjoys equal conditions in the pre-election campaign. [passage omitted]

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Gives New Year's Address

LD3112160093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by Askar Akayev; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The most important and pleasing fact for me in 1993 was the fact that our Commonwealth, the CIS, turned from an amorphous formation into an effectively operating mechanism of multilateral economic cooperation, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, into a mechanism of maintaining peace and stability and preventing conflicts on the whole enormous Eurasian continent.

Hence, my main wish to all of us is that in 1994 the mechanism should begin working in full and we should begin to overcome a political, economic, and spiritual crisis that all of us are going through. The most important thing—my sincere wish is that finally, there should be a reconciliation at places where blood is being shed and civil war is under way. I am saying this with pain in my heart. My sincere wish is that people should return to a peaceful life.

One more thing. I would particularly like to wish to the citizens of Russia that 1994 should be a year of peace, stability, and progress.

It is the destiny of world history that without great Russia there can be no harmony, peace, or stability not only on the Eurasian continent, but in the whole world.

I would like to address all of us, CIS countries citizens, as my compatriots since we all come from a single Fatherland. Compatriots: I would like to wish you peace, well-being, solidarity, and fraternity in 1994. Happy New Year!

Premier Addresses Government Presidium Session

LD3112201793 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] The presidium of the government has held a regular session. Under examination were two issues: first, the

fulfillment by the Kyrgyztamakash state concern of the government decree on improving the activity of that state concern in providing the population of the republic with food; and, second, on measures aimed at preserving state property and observing tax and customs legislature by the Dzhalabad state regional administration.

The chairman of the state concern spoke on the first issue. He reported on the work of enterprises which are a part of this concern. Prime Minister Dzhumagulov noted that it is too conservative in its work and demanded that the chairman and other senior officials of the concern strengthened the leadership of their departments, raise the responsibility for the job done on the part of the staff, and exercise control over their activities.

The session went on to note that Dzhalabad Oblast has violated laws which regulate the preservation of state property. Regarding the second issue, the prime minister went on note that as a result of these violations 427,000 soms worth of damage have been inflicted on the state. Only 117,000 somes of this sum have been paid back. The head of the government demanded they take all the necessary steps to recompensate for the damage done to the state.

Social Democrats Request Help for Russian-Speaking Citizens

LD0301160294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] The mass media in Kyrgyzstan have today published an open letter from the political council of the republic's Social Democratic Party [SDP] to the presidents of Russia and Kyrgyzstan. The main reason for this, in the view of the Social Democrats, is the considerable deterioration in the people's standard of living, the Russian-speaking citizens' increasing loss of confidence that they will be given social protection, and their worry for their children's future.

Given this, the SDP has called upon the presidents of Russia and Kyrgyzstan to ensure that industrial enterprises of the two countries that have mutual economic ties are granted most favored status, in order to avoid bankruptcy and mass unrest among the people; to draw up and adopt a law on immigration based upon international norms and rights; and to guarantee that Russian-speaking citizens in Kyrgyzstan may receive education in the Russian language; and finally to conclude an inter-governmental agreement on recognizing dual citizenship in Russia and Kyrgyzstan.

Academy of Sciences Head Urges Support for Akayev

LD0401105194 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The referendum day scheduled for 30 January by President Askar Akayev is approaching. In this connection, our correspondent interviewed Turar Koychiyev, president of the Kyrgyz Academy of Sciences.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Turar Koychiyev, what do you think about President Akayev's decision to hold the referendum?

[Koychiyev] I think it is a necessary step. We are building democracy in our society, and I think that Akayevich is absolutely correct because it is a very important political question. The president needs to know the public's opinion. Our reform process seems to be developing. The path chosen for our development is diametrically opposed to what we had before. I think we passed one important stage in these three years and are finding ourselves at the second stage of our social and economic development. Our president is doing his best to improve the situation in the country. On 30 January, those who want (?equality) and prosperity for Kyrgyzstan should support President Akayev's policy. [end recording]

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Delivers New Year's Message

LD3112181893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's message by Imamali Rakhmonov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet; read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots, it is already the third time we are celebrating the New Year under conditions of full independence of the republic. The last two years were not simple for our people. During this period we have experienced such events that will not be forgotten by the people for a long time. The past year, despite economic difficulties, has firmly established the position of peace in the republic and allowed the safeguarding of the integrity of our Motherland and the restoral of law and order.

Our people began peaceful constructive labor, tackling the issues of industrial production. Unfortunately, so far we have many difficult problems, similar to those that all of the peoples of the former Soviet Union are currently facing.

All of us feel for ourselves the consequences of breaking the economic ties between the states of the former Soviet Union republics. Prices of food, consumer goods, and fuel have sharply risen. The financial system is in crisis. I have felt the pain of the people during numerous meetings with the workers of the different branches of the national economy, war and labor veterans, and intellectuals.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic have been persistently looking for ways to resolve these problems in the course of 1993. It was not (?easy) and that is for a number of objective reasons. The leadership of the republic has inherited a ruined economy after the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet. The 18th session of the Supreme Soviet, which was convened recently, has adopted a number of laws and decisions that are laying a firm foundation in the development of our national economy.

Next year we intend to change the basic principles of our policy. We intend to direct the main force to [word indistinct] construction of agriculture and other branches connected with the well-being of the people.

In the new year we will undertake a number of measures to promote the stabilization of the situation in connection with ensuring the rights of citizens. We will carry on a ruthless struggle against speculators, criminals, and mafia groups.

The other problem is the repatriation of refugees. We will do everything to bring home those compatriots who had to flee the republic. In the course of the visit of Mr. Borhanoddin Rabbani, the head of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, to our republic, along with the solution of other important problems, we have concluded an agreement on refugees together with the representatives of the Commissioner of the United Nations.

Dear compatriots, my big wish in the new year is that all citizens of free Tajikistan will be busy in working hand in hand to improve services and utilities in the Motherland and to treat each other kindly. The draft of the new constitution of the republic will be submitted to the public referendum no later than 1994 to provide an opportunity to the people to determine the kind of future—presidential or parliament. The election of the new parliament and the head of state will take place in autumn. Let the people elect freely the form of the government and its head.

Dear compatriots, all our achievements and the authority of the republic is the result of the friendship and merit of those peoples who are living in Tajikistan. During the difficult days of the past year, the Russians, Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs, Turkmens, and the representatives of other peoples selflessly worked together with their Tajik brothers and sisters to restore the economy and [word indistinct] of the Motherland.

The fraternity and friendship of the peoples of Tajikistan is the foundation of the young sovereign state of Tajikistan on which we will build the future. The international spirit of the Tajik people was also displayed in that during the comparatively short historical period of time it was recognized [words indistinct] countries. On the eve of the new year I would like to express sincere gratitude to (?United Nations) organizations and heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States for their disinterested assistance and support.

Sovereign Tajikistan must go through a new stage of development in the new year. In connection with this, I confidently address the people who have great experience—war and labor veterans, peaceful women, careful mothers, and glorious youth—let us in the new year, shoulder to shoulder, by joint efforts take our republic out of the difficult social and economic situation.

Popular wisdom says that when there is an order and mutual respect in the family then one can achieve all kinds of success. Let the new year of 1994 be for all of us a year of well-being, happiness, peace, and prosperity.

Supreme Soviet Officials Meet With Dostam Representatives

LD0301132194 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0500 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tohir Ahmadov and Sangmuhammad Zuhurov, leaders of the working group of the Republic of Tajikistan Supreme Soviet's commission on refugees, met with Major General Sufi Manan and Major General Nur Mohammad, representatives of Abdol Rashid Dostam, leader of the National and Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, in Sher Khan Bandar at the request of the Afghan side.

During the meeting, the Afghan side informed the Tajik side that in accordance with an agreement signed between the official Kabul government and the Islamic National Movement of Afghanistan it has been decided that Sher Khan Bandar will be transferred to the representatives of Abdol Rashid Dostam.

Questions concerning the repatriation of Tajik refugees were also discussed. The Afghan representatives said that in 1994 they will take all the necessary measures to speed up the repatriation of refugees and to guarantee their security. In addition, a transit camp will soon be opened near the Sher Khan Bandar.

Chinese Envoy on PRC-Tajik Relations

LD0401104394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By KHOVAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Zhukov]

[Text] Dushanbe January 4 TASS—The second anniversary of diplomatic relations between Tajikitan and China is being marked here today.

"This is a major event in the lives of the two nations," Chinese Ambassador Xi Zhaoming told the KHOVAR news service. "Relations between our two countries are being promoted on a sound and perfectly normal basis. Our stands largely coincide in foreign politics."

The Chinese diplomat said that there were great potential possibilities for promoting Sino-Tajik cooperation and "this process must be accelerated."

Government Approves International Space Center's Establishment

LD0301091594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0410 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] An international space research center will be established in Tajikistan. Our correspondent Raisa Mukhiddinova with the details:

[Mukhiddinova] The Tajik Government has passed the decision to set up an international space research center at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. Imombabadzhanov [name as heard], candidate of physics-mathematical sciences, is appointed to administer it. Twenty years ago in the East Pamirs, he set up a small x-ray emission station, which in time was turned into one of the largest in the world. The scientist said that in the summer of

1993, the world's scientific public was alarmed with reports that the x-ray emission station in the Pamirs was threatened with closure. Many famous scientists started writing to the government and Academy of Sciences of the republic on the need to preserve and restore this installation, so unique in the world.

To understand their alarm, one must research the history of the question a little. Everyone now knows that when studying the world of elementary particles, scientists came up against many mysterious and complex phenomena, which were impossible to reproduce using the most expensive modern accelerators. Interest, however, in the interaction of particles accompanied by super high energies increased and it was necessary to find new possibilities for studying the processes taking place. The idea arose of using a natural accelerator, in particular cosmic rays or flows of particles with super high energies, which the universe continually sends to earth. These particles are caught by various pieces of equipment, but the most economical and effective method is fixing them onto a film using an x-ray emission camera. Such a camera, the biggest in the world, was created in the Pamirs.

Armenia

Attacks by Azerbaijani Units Said Blocked

NC0301185494 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Azerbaijan's military units continued their activities through the holidays. They have launched combat operations to penetrate the defensive lines of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] off and on since 1 January. The NKR State Committee for Defense has disclosed that the defense units taught the enemy a lesson by advancing and obstructing their activities.

According to the reports we received as of 1900 yesterday, there has been no significant change in the confrontation.

Prime Minister Heads Delegation to Moscow

NC0301204194 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] An Armenian Government delegation headed by Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan left for Moscow today to meet with the Russian prime minister and other government officials and discuss matters pertaining to trade and economic cooperation between the two countries in 1994.

President Raises Minimum Wage, Pensions

NC3112213093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 31 Dec 93

[Text] The Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan signed a decree today on (?raising) the minimum wages, wages of employees working in state enterprises, tuitions, benefits, and pensions in Armenia.

The decree says in particular: Taking into account the need for the additional measures to provide social protection to the people in view of sharp increase in prices, I hereby decide:

To establish the minimum wage in Armenia at 110 dram as of 1 January 1994, the wages of (?civil servants) [words indistinct] at 121 dram, and the [passage indistinct].

To increase threefold the pensions within the 36.7 and 73.8 dram bracket in Armenia [words indistinct], and increase the pensions above 73.8 dram by 146 dram.

To establish the allowances for young persons within 7-17 age group at (35) dram per month.

The full text of the decree will be published in HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN.

New Food, Service Prices Fixed on 4 Jan

NC0301213694 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] In order to expand commodity circulation in the consumer market and reduce production (?losses), the Armenian Government has decided to establish new retail prices for bread, flour, and basic services as of 4 January. The retail price of bread has been fixed at 1.50 dram, or 300 rubles, per kilo; flour at 1.21 dram, or 250 rubles, per kilo. The rate for electricity has been fixed at .20 dram, or 40 rubles per kilowatt-hour. Inter-city passenger transportation on buses, trolleys, and trams has been fixed at .50 dram, or 100 rubles, per person.

The cost of basic services—such as rent, water, garbage collection, and telephone service—have also been increased by an average of two-and-a-half times more than their previous cost.

Detailed information will be published in the press.

Communists Call For Unity With Russia

NC3012152593 Yerevan SNARK in English 0903 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 29 (SNARK)—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia has called on people to unite the efforts of the normal layers of society to restore the new political, military and economic unit with Russia. In its New Year's statement communists called upon to the creation of the coalition government of the national agreement, demanded to stop the privatization's process and purchase and sale of land.

By spring, as Armenian communists consider, it is necessary to undertake pre-scheduled presidency and parliament's elections.

Vladimir Darbinyan, the member of the board of Central Committee of Communist Party of Armenia, said to SNARK that these requirements is for national interests of Armenian people, the future of which impossible to imagine out of the new union of republics, recreated voluntary.

Meanwhile, during his recent interview to SNARK Levon Ter-Petrosyan excluded the possibility to recreate the Union.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Army Supplied With Artillery in Karabakh

NC0301161594 Baku TURAN in English 1419 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Baku (January 3) TURAN—As TURAN agency was told by the military sources, fightings in the north of Karabakh continue. Armenian Army is supplied with military hardware and artillery.

Last night Armenian Army tried to take back top-hills and settlements of the region, which they have lost the day before.

At the same time, Armenian units tried to search the region round Omar crossing (the border between Kelbadzharskiy and Khanlarskiy regions of Azerbaijan), however, they have retreated having ten dead and wounded soldiers.

Aliyev's New Year's Message Reported

NC0301193294 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 1 Jan 94

["Text" of President Geydar Aliyev's New Year's message; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, I congratulate you on the occasion of the new year, 1994. Today is marked as the day of solidarity with Azerbaijani people around the world. On this symbolic day, I congratulate all the Azerbaijanis in the world and wish stronger solidarity among them in the future.

The year 1993 was painful and problematic for Azerbaijan and its people. [words indistinct], a part of our republic's territory was occupied as a result of Armenia's aggression, and our fellow countrymen and kinsmen were forced to leave their places of birth and become refugees in 1993. Azerbaijan experienced a serious economic and social crisis. Our republic has successfully emerged from all those difficulties and problems and has confidently entered 1994.

The confrontation among individual forces, the harm done to Azerbaijan by the separatist forces, and the [word indistinct] disrupted social and political stability in our republic and brought Azerbaijan to the verge of civil war in mid-1993. The threat of civil war has been averted, but bloodshed occurred and that state of affairs created a very tense situation in the republic.

Thanks to our people's awareness, bloodshed was prevented [as heard], the threat of civil war was averted, the confrontation was eliminated, and the separatist forces that tried to fragment our republic were rendered ineffective. Consequently, our republic has been able to resolve its problems in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

Azerbaijan tried to obstruct Armenia's aggression and the armed attacks by Armenians in 1993. Regrettably, we have suffered several defeats and lost part of our territory. Many of our citizens were forced to become refugees in their homeland as a result of the occupation of our territory by the Armenian military forces. More than a million refugees have been resettled in the other parts of Azerbaijan. That has had a very serious effect on the general situation in the Republic, particularly the internal situation. However, it must be noted that the situation has changed.

Changes have taken place as a result of the establishment and organization of the Republic's Armed Forces and the work carried out to successfully defend Azerbaijan's territory. Our military forces and our struggling young men are heroically defending our territory and successfully retaliating against the enemy attacks. They are dealing blows to the enemy. It can be pointed out that all the attacks launched by the Armenian Armed Forces over the last few months have been rebuffed. Our republic's military forces have defended the positions they hold. In fact, they have shown how strong Azerbaijan's defenses have become.

Bloody fighting is taking place on all battlefronts, and the Armenian Armed Forces are to blame for the clashes.

We wish to reiterate that Azerbaijan wants a peaceful end to the war, which has caused a calamity for our republic. In fact, our republic has taken several steps in that direction, and we want to reiterate our position at the present time. Regrettably, our republic's initiatives have failed to yield a result.

Nevertheless, Azerbaijan is now able to strengthen its military will. I wish to assure our people that our armed forces will take the necessary measures to successfully defend our republic and retrieve our occupied territory.

A war is being fought. Casualties are being inflicted on our people. The heroic sons of the Republic's people have been martyred in the battlefronts while defending our territory. I want to take this opportunity to extend condolences to the families and parents of all our martyrs. I bow my head in acknowledgment of their heroic effort. God bless the souls of the martyrs. May their graves be filled with bliss and may God give patience to their families.

I am convinced that our people are now able to successfully resolve the serious problems that exist now.

I want to convey my greetings to our officers and men who are bravely fighting at the battlefronts and to all our people on this festive day. I congratulate them on the occasion of the New Year and wish them good health and success in performing their sacred duties.

The war is continuing. The number of refugees has increased as a result of the Armenian military attacks. I sincerely congratulate the refugees and all the people on the occasion of the New Year. Yes, it is a tradition in our republic that our citizens mark the New Year in their homes. Regrettably, many of our citizens have lost their homes and their parents. They have sought shelter in various places. The people and the state respect them, wherever they are. I pray that they maintain high spirits and morale.

A serious crisis exists in Azerbaijan. The economic and social crisis has been caused by nearly six years of fighting and certain objective and subjective reasons. This state of affairs has reduced the standard of living. Our people are living in a difficult situation, but we are aware that our people are [word indistinct] and will resolve the existing problems. They will leave the painful and problematic year behind. Changes will occur in our economy in 1994, and the standard of living will improve day by day.

Today is the day of solidarity for the Azerbaijanis. I wish for strong solidarity to exist among all the Azerbaijanis. Solidarity must be established among all the Azerbaijani people in the world, particularly those who live in independent Azerbaijan.

Two years have passed since Azerbaijan declared its independence. We are now moving into the third year. We have significant tasks to perform. A state of strong solidarity among Azerbaijan's people is necessary for the realization of these tasks. We can contribute toward solidarity among the Azerbaijanis in the world if we establish real solidarity among the Azerbaijani people in our republic. In view of

that, I urge our people to unite and establish solidarity. I also wish to assure our people that 1994 will [words indistinct].

I want to reiterate that we are defending our homeland's territory. We are working to end the war in Azerbaijan. We are working to improve the current situation. We have taken several steps in that direction, and we shall continue to do so. On behalf of Azerbaijan's people, I signed the Paris Charter in France on 20 December. This reaffirmed to the world that Azerbaijan is committed to peace, tranquillity, and security. However, we shall continue to strengthen our defense forces and make an effort to retake our occupied territory. Our people can rest assured that all the necessary measures will be taken to maintain our republic's territorial integrity and prevent the violation of our borders.

I want to assure our esteemed countrymen that our territory will be liberated, regardless of what may happen in 1994. The refugees will return to their homes, and Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and state structure will be maintained.

I congratulate you again on the occasion of the New Year, and I wish all the Republic's citizens peace, security, happiness, and success. Happy New Year.

Further on Message

NC0301162894 Baku TURAN in English 1419 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Baku (January 3) TURAN—On December 31 in his televised address to the nation, Azerbaijani President Aliyev said that in 1994 all the territories occupied by Armenian Army would be liberated. He stressed that this goal should be achieved in spite of all losses.

The President Aliyev said that there have been positive changes in Azeri Army recently. For the last month in the course of firings Armenian Army could not break the Azeri defense. According to the president, these are the consequences of the measures taken by the government in the field of military building.

Azerbaijan comes out for peaceful means of settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and it will continue to adhere to this policy in the nearest future, the President Aliyev said.

Aliyev, Russian Commander Discuss Security

NC0301163594 Baku TURAN in English 1448 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Baku, January 30, TURAN—Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev-the commander of the Russian frontier troops is visiting Baku. Today at 4 p.m. General Nikolayev was received by President Aliyev. As a reliable source at the presidential staff told TURAN agency the questions of the further on cooperation between Russia and Azerbaijan in the guarding of the southern borders of the CIS were discussed at the meeting.

Last November Nikolayev told journalists in Moscow that Azerbaijan had appealed to Moscow with a proposal of the cooperative guarding of the southern borders and this question is being working out at present. But the official Baku rejected this report then.

During the today's meeting Andrey Nikolayev said, that the parties intend to discuss the problems of the cooperative guarding of the southern borders of the CIS.

In his turn, Geydar Aliyev said that Azerbaijan would like to solve the problems of guarding its borders in complex. For Azerbaijan the guarding of the border with Armenian is much more important than the guarding of border with the other states, he said. In this connection he pointed out, that 170 km of Azerbaijani-Iranian border is under the control of the Armenian Army.

After this the meeting went on behind closed doors.

Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan To Make Joint Appeal

NC0301195694 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] It was agreed during Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov recent visit to Iran and Turkey that Azerbaijan, Turkey, and Iran will jointly appeal to the Islamic Conference Organization to send a commission to confirm the destruction of the religious, cultural, and historic monuments by the Armenian Armed Forces in the lands it has occupied.

Georgia

Patsatsia's New Year's Address Read on TV

LD3112194293 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1710 GMT 31 Dec 93

[New Year's address by Prime Minister Patsatsia; read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots: 1993 will soon be gone. It was the hardest year for the Georgian people, when the fate of Georgian statehood was hanging in balance. Political cataclysms, rampant separatism, internal disorder, and betrayal had a negative effect on the country's agriculture, which was in difficulties because of both objective and subjective reasons.

The country's industrial potential dwindled so dramatically that it can now produce at only 20 percent capacity. Social discomfort and peoples' hardships reached a critical limit. Yet 1993 was the year of Georgia's salvation. It was the year of bravery of Georgia's sons and the halo on the ascension of Georgia's soul. It was the year of true democracy, the victory over an attempt to establish neo-Bolshevism, and the final turn toward the irreversible process of Georgia's unity.

Georgia's Cabinet of Ministers believes that the practical measures carried out in 1993 for minimally accommodating the social security of the socially insecure strata were not enough. We are hoping to use all of our efforts and resources to resolve this issue next year. I would like to tell you that as of 1 February wages will rise considerably.

You know that as a result of the head of state's efforts and through his immediate participation, many countries

around the world extended a helping hand to us and alleviated our situation considerably. This aid will continue, but we can be saved only if Georgia's economy is restored and if it starts to function at full force. The prospect for this has become a reality as a result of the agreements signed in Ashgabat. Serious investment in the republic's economy by individual concerns and firms is emerging. The only indespensible condition for a full functioning of the country's potential abilities is, of course, stabilization.

Georgia's cabinet of ministers will do its best to secure stability in 1994. I would like to assure you that a battle against mafia clans and organized crime will be stepped up even more.

The New Year will enter everyone's homes in several hours.

May it carry peace, kindness, and happiness for all of you.

I wish you a Happy New Year.

Otar Patsatsia, prime minister of the Republic of Georgia.

NDP Leader Views Shevardnadze's 'Mistakes'

AU0301131694 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian 17 Dec 93 p 5-7

[Interview with Giorgi Chanturia, chairman of the National-Democratic Party, NDP, by Murman Jguburia; place and date not given: "Why Are Everyone's Hopes Pinned On the Arrival of Spring"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Jguburia] Could you say a few words about the Geneva memorandum [signed between Georgia and Abkhazia on 1 December]?

[Chanturia] It was our wish that a Georgian delegation should go to Geneva. Of course, we are not naive and did not expect that, as a result of these negotiations, Abkhazia would be returned to us and that those who were forcibly displaced would return to their own land.

Diplomatic work is also necessary. Some radically-minded people say that they do not want any negotiations, which, of course, is wrong. However, we should not go to the other extreme. Unfortunately, in reality, the return of Abkhazia is probably only possible by military force; nevertheless, diplomacy should contribute to the victory of Georgian weapons and to the subsequent consolidation of this victory. In this way, the meeting in Geneva would have been more significant had Georgia been better prepared. Unfortunately, in my view, this memorandum is not serious; it does not correspond to our interests and is unacceptable to our state. What is the sense of holding a meeting just for the sake of it?

[Jguburia] You probably know what happened during your absence concerning the bread situation; it has become more acute; people are joking that those behind the acts of sabotage must be magicians as it has been impossible to find them....

[Chanturia] We really cannot blame Russia for this situation. This is our fault. It is an institute of state violence. When reason and morality have no effect upon a part of society or specific individuals, the state is obliged to use force to put a halt to illegal actions.

What is happening in our country...? Members of the mafia appear on television and speak about the mafia; bread thieves appear on television and speak about bread thieves; robbers speak about the evils of robbery. That is to say, these people have installed themselves in fairly high echelons of the state structures. I doubt that we will achieve any serious measure of success in the struggle against the mafia unless new people come to power. Believe me, it is possible to resolve this problem within a month. We simply have to catch certain people. Those giving protection to the Tatishvilis [bandit gang] must be caught first. The "big fish" have to be caught before the small ones. In Georgia, the "small fish" are being caught while the "big fish" wander about free.

Everything here is done unsystematically, including the struggle against crime. I repeat, it is possible to establish order in Georgia but this can only be done by new people who are not connected with the mafia and who do not take money from criminals. When one's conscience is clear, one can arrest someone and punish him if need be. There is great support for the truth.

[Jguburia] Batono [Georgian polite form of address] Giorgi, people believe that the current Parliament is not the one that Georgia needs and are thinking about new elections....

[Chanturia] Parliament is, to put it mildly, far removed from international standards. This "is not a new one but an old one." However, does the government look any better?! Is there, in general, any structure in Georgia that is more or less civilized? Unfortunately, there is not. It is the fault of the electorate for chosing such a parliament. Blocs are formed and called "Mshvidoba," [Peace], "Siqvaruli," [Love], "Aqvaveba," [Well-Being], and "Gapurchkvna," [Prosperity], one or two popular composers or "violinists" are made their leaders, and people vote for these blocs, which have been formed artificially and soon disappear. These people may be prominent cultural figures but many of them understand nothing when it comes to politics. Parliament is a place for politicians. [passage omitted]

As regards early elections, of course, they are necessary. The elections should be held according to party lists. We should introduce strict barriers: 5 percent for parties and 10 percent for blocs. Whoever fails to overcome these barriers will not be able to have any representatives in Parliament. Parliament will be composed of [the members of] three or four parties, which will be a step forward. We also have to learn that the government is not an economic mechanism. Ministers should be politicians and, moreover, party members as, in this case, there will be greater responsibility. When the government is formed on the basis of party principles, then it is already a united team. [passage omitted]

[Jguburia] If it is not inappropriate.... speaking of professionalism, was the sudden formation of the "Union of [Georgia's] Citizens" not premature? It must take a lot of time and work to form a party. A union of like-minded persons is formed slowly and gradually, according to what the party's concept, orientation, point of view, and aims are.... As soon as the "Union of Citizens" was formed, people flocked to it. They probably blindly trust the head of

state and have faith in him, and that is the reason for joining it in a hurry. People can probably be forgiven this. However, was such haste on the part of the head of state not a little inappropriate?

If we take a look at the path pursued by the NDP, we can see what a difficult one it had to follow. The NDP needed almost 70 years to become a strong party.

[Chanturia] What is formed quickly disappears just as quickly. We can mention the Rustaveli Society, to which collective membership was possible. Unfortunately, the society has become a fiction, something that awaits the "Union of Citizens" and others such as the Party of Reformers, the Progressive-Democratic Party, and groupings that were formed ostentatiously and artificially, all with different interests. [passage omitted]

Of course, Shevardnadze should have a party and he himself should be a party member since he is the head of state. I have often said that it is nonsense that the head of state should stand apart from his own political force. There is nothing incomprehensible about the desire of Shevardnadze himself to form a party. What is incomprehensible are the means and style in which all this was done and the hullabaloo surrounding it. This is neither a political force nor a movement. The election of a 200-strong presidium is, to put it mildly, a wholly apolitical step. I fear that the same fate awaits this organization that befell the Democratic Union (formed by Shevardnadze) and later the "Mshvidoba" bloc. This will place the head of state himself in an unenviable position. We are interested in having strong and firmly established rule in Georgia. The defeat of the "Union of Citizens" could lead to a more serious political defeat and this, naturally, does not correspond to our aims.

[Jguburia] It has not been possible to start a period of construction in our country. Gamsakhurdia destroyed and divided everything. The forum [as published] was split, families were split, and brother was set against sister. There was an attempt to set regions against one another but this, thank God, did not succeed.

Today, when people take a nostalgic look at the recent past, they see Shevardnadze also more as a destroyer than a builder. In their view, Shevardnadze and Gamsakhurdia are both destroyers. The first destroyed the empire, which was vitally necessary, and also made German unification possible through the destruction of the famous "wall." The second destroyed his own motherland, which led us to civil war. One can say that neither is the very image of Aghmashenebeli [king of Georgia 1089-1125]. Davit Aghmashenebeli was devoted, first and foremost, to domestic affairs. He made Georgians love work and religion. He created a powerful army and, when it became necessary to launch an offensive against the enemy, he blocked off their roads of retreat and, naturally, won a great victory. Incidentally, probably the time has finally come to create a united army in Georgia, do you not think?

[Chanturia] How can a united army be created when certain criminals in military uniform are being awarded medals and decorations? The impunity syndrome reigns not only in the army but everywhere in society. A person can be a traitor or in alliance with the enemy and he will still be decorated, offered a post, and not be short of respect and glory.

That atmosphere that prevails in the higher echelons of power and also at a relatively lower level stimulates this immorality, irresponsibility, and non-state activity.

Let us return to the subject of the CIS. A wholly non-state attitude also exists toward such an important question as Georgia's membership of the CIS. Let us recall what Russian historians themselves have said. [passage omitted]

Russians write that a Russian will not abandon the empire and, at the same time, an equal alliance between the people of the empire and its former or current satellite states is impossible.

[Jguburia] You often quote from Mazzini in your speeches. I recall one phrase: It is impossible to think about harmony, understanding, and Christianity in a country where one person is very poor and one is very rich (let us take our coupon and the Russian ruble).

People here think that we apparently need Russia very much. When they need to justify joining the CIS, they say that, just as we cannot do without Russia, so it cannot do without us.

[Chanturia] In general, it would be better if Georgia and Georgian politicians did not view matters from the point of view of having to justify themselves. I am grieved that certain people do not intend to acknowledge that joining the CIS represents a defeat. If, only a short while ago, it meant a defeat and a humiliation, how did it become a great political step following the loss, destruction, division, and ruin of Abkhazia? Why are we deceiving ourselves?

[Jguburia] Such a view exists: Why should we not join the CIS when such and such a state belongs to it...? When I overhear such a statement, it immediately brings to mind one of our sayings: "He is not stupid who has put the unripe corn in the attic but he who has befriended him." Joking apart, they also say that Batoni Shevardnadze apparently joined the CIS so that he could take on a different mission, which will benefit not only us but also others.... As regards the attitude of members of our government to the CIS, their hesitancy was exposed in a masterly way by Kalbatoni [Georgian polite form of address] Irina Sarishvili [Chanturia's wife, former vice premier who resigned in protest against Shevardnadze's decision to join the CIS] during two sessions of Parliament.

[Chanturia] There are people in the government who not only hold the CIS close to their hearts but also would gladly welcome the restoration of the Soviet Union in any form. I am convinced that Shevardnadze did not want this but, as a result of mistakes made and proceeding from objective or subjective reality and what took shape in our country, it became necessary to take this step. However, we should be frank and say that this is a defeat. The very fact that, following our being dragged into the CIS, we lost Abkhazia and Gamsakhurdia returned to Georgia and inflicted a civil war [upon the country] shows that this is a defeat. We nevertheless have to say this so that we can leave something for posterity.

Our moderate position regarding relations with Russia is known to you. We are categorically opposed to anti-Russian hysteria but this does not mean that we would conduct a pro-Russian and antistate policy and leave the flag, emblem, and anthem as vestiges of our independence. When we speak of an antistate approach, this characterizes a certain section of our society, people who are collaborators by nature. Consumed with revanchist feelings and hiding behind anti-Gamsakhurdia sentiments, they are now bent on wrecking the ideals of the national movement (that date from the time of Ilia Chavchavadze). Nevertheless, I believe that Shevardnadze has sufficient forces and will free himself of this entourage; this is essential for him, as a politician, so that he can get a realistic view of the existing situation in Georgia. I have witnessed how people have been feeding him with disinformation and painting a picture that does not exist in reality. When one is given incorrect information, this causes one to take incorrect steps. Naturally, we have to be very wary and correct in our relations with Russia but we should not compromise our state interests. [passage omitted]

Use of Own Energy Resources Planned in 1994

LD0101082094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2329 GMT 31 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 1 Jan—In the new year, Georgia will make an attempt to partially surmount its acute energy crisis by using local resources. According to official sources, foreign companies are being invited in for this purpose, and they will start to locate and develop oilfields within the republic. To ensure the safety of the foreign geologists, Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of state, has already instructed that their protection should be entrusted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Georgia used to meet its fuel needs through cheap supplies from other republics of the former Soviet Union, receiving from them nearly all the natural gas it required, a significant amount of its petrol and diesel fuel, and a quarter of its electrical power. All this despite the fact, for example, that Georgia is thought by local experts to lead the world as regards the presence of hydropower resources.

Geologists forecast that rich oil-bearing strata can also be found in the republic, as, for example, in neighboring Azerbaijan. Over 70 years ago, the then bourgeois government of Georgia issued a Dutch firm with a licence to locate and extract oil in the east of the republic. But these fields were soon exhausted. In recent years, oil-bearing strata have been detected in a seam close to the surface on an upland plateau not far from Tbilisi.

Enterprises 'Panicked' Over Banknote Rumor

LD0401114494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1134 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi January 4 TASS—Georgian commercial bodies are panicked by persistent rumours that 50,000-rouble banknotes of the Russian Central Bank will be shortly withdrawn from circulation in the republic. Shopkeepers refuse to accept or change them for other money. Smart dealers swap such banknotes for 20 per cent of the sum exchanged.

Local financial experts suggest two reasons for the panic. Firstly, it might have been caused by Moscow press reports that the Russian market is flooded by forged 50,000-rouble banknotes. Secondly, it could have been caused artificially by local shady businessmen, who waxed rich last summer by cheaply buying up 1961-1992 Russian roubles, which were then being withdrawn from circulation.

Estonia

Parliament Reacts to Yeltsin's Statement

AU0301143794 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan 3 (AFP)—Estonia expressed concern Monday [3 January] at comments by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on protecting Russian-speakers in former Soviet republics, accusing the Russian government of destroying democracy in Russia.

"We would draw the attention of the international community to these declarations, which probably mark the end of democracy in Russia," the statement by the Estonian parliament said, referring to New Year's eve comments by Yeltsin.

"Russia is choosing to emphasize so-called discrimination against Russian-speakers. This risks a gradual hardening of relations between the two countries. We must remain vigilant," the statement, released to AFP by a spokesman of the parliament, said.

Yeltsin addressed a part of his New Year's message to Russians living outside Russia, stressing that their rights would be protected.

On Monday ITAR-TASS quoted Yeltsin's spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov as saying he wanted to protect "the rights of Russians and the Russian-speaking population within the framework of international law and based on the notion of pan-national solidarity."

The comments were seen as a threat to the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, which have large Russian-speaking minorities.

On Saturday the three states called on Yeltsin to ensure the complete withdrawal of Russian troops from their soil by the end of the year. All Russian forces have already left Lithuania, but a number of units are still stationed in the other two states.

The three states voiced concern last month when ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy made an unexpectedly strong showing in legislative elections.

Meri Expresses Concern

WS0401105494 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0737 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] President Lennart Meri expressed his concern with the new year's greetings of Russian President Yeltsin, pointing out that Russia may introduce a "new and aggressive foreign policy" this year. Meri referred to a promise by President Yeltsin to the Russians living outside Russia to defend their "common interests" with more energy and resolution.

"Yeltsin's expressions and intonation give reason for suspicion that the democratic forces are too weak in Russia and Russia will adopt the aggressive foreign policy of the former Soviet Union," Meri said. He called for the Western countries to react this "unusual" speech and warned that the Russian leadership may exploit the extremist Zhirinovskiy's election success as a pretext for hard-line policy towards the former Soviet republics. Although Russia is entitled to concern for its citizens' safety, it would be impossible to imagine the Russians' interests in New York as belonging to Russia's sphere of interest, Meri pointed out in an interview to the Associated Press. He also drew parallels to the protection of "Russian minority" in 1939.

The Baltic states presidents made a joint statement on December 31. They called for President Yeltsin to keep his promise on the completion of the Russian troops withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia in 1994. The presidents also invited the world to contribute to the Russian military withdrawal.

Russia To Remove All Nuclear Fuel by 30 Jun

WS0301204794 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1640 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Tallinn, January 3—Russia has promised to remove nuclear fuel from its former submarine training base at Paldiski, north west Estonia, by midsummer, an advisor to the Estonian Foreign Ministry and member of the Estonian delegation at Estonian-Russian inter-state negotiations told ETA.

"Under a plan submitted by the Russian counterpart, nuclear fuel should be removed from Paldiski by June 30 this year," Mark Sinisoo said.

Russia has thus far followed the timetable of dismantling nuclear equipment, Sinisoo added. At the end of last year, Russia sent equipment and materials for dismantling nuclear devices to Estonia and another wagon is due to arrive in January.

"Following removal of nuclear fuel, Paldiski does not need Russian military presence and the so-called military dismantling should be decided at Estonian-Russian negotiations," Sinisoo said while adding that Paldiski must be integrated into Estonia. [passage omitted]

Colonel Sent To Promote Withdrawal

WS0301193894 Tallinn BNS in English 1320 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] TALLINN, Jan 03, BNS - Maj. Gen. Aleksander Einseln, the commander of the Estonian Defense Forces, appointed Col. Raul Luks as the commandant of Paldiski. The commandant assumed his post as of Jan. 1.

The commandant's task is to promote the withdrawal of the Russian troops, nuclear reactors and the submarine training base from Paldiski and the Pakri peninsula. He must also see to the establishment of Estonian laws in the town whose population consists mainly of aliens and the Russian military.

The commandant's tasks include securing cooperation between Estonian defense forces, border guards and the police in Paldiski, and preventing the looting of vacated Russian military facilities.

Luks was the deputy chief of staff of the Estonian Defense Forces before his appointment to Paldiski.

The Russian 93rd naval training base and its two nuclear reactors still remain in Paldiski. About 500 soldiers and officers were stationed there at the end of last year. Russian naval depots and a supplies company are also stationed in Paldiski.

The North Infantry Company represents the Estonian Defense Forces in Paldiski.

Faction Meets To Discuss Cabinet Changes

WS0301204994 Tallinn BNS in English 1525 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 03, BNS—The Estonian parliament's Pro Patria faction met Monday to discuss the upcoming changes in the government. The party is expected to put its proposals to its coalition partners tomorrow.

The meeting was attended by Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar. The government's press service declined to comment on the outcome of the discussion to BNS. Members of Parliament (MPs) Jaanus Betlem and Toivo Jurgenson, members of Pro Patria, also refused to comment.

According to information in the Estonian press, four ministers are expected to be replaced. Defense Minister Juri Luik will replace Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste.

The defense portfolio will pass to MP Indrek Kannik. Finance Minister Madis Uurike will be replaced by Heiki Kranich, a member of the parliament's Liberal faction, and Toivo Jurgenson, a Pro Patria parliamentary faction member, is expected to replace Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae.

Under the coalition agreement, all the four portfolios belong to Pro Patria. The new appointments, however, will have to be approved by the coalition council that is expected to meet Tuesday.

The Cabinet reshuffle will probably take place before the parliament reconvenes Jan. 10, so the new ministers can be sworn in immediately.

Business Groups Protest

WS0301204894 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1640 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, January 3—Estonian business community expressed support to Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae over assumed plans to replace him in the government.

The Estonian Association of Small Enterprises (EVEA) and the Estonian Chamber of Trade and Commerce held an emergency meeting at the end of last year to discuss reports on his possible dismissal and sent a letter to President Lennart Meri and Prime Minister saying that replacing Sildmae at the present stage of economic reform is premature and dangerous to the country.

Sildmae as a competent minister has done a lot to overcome economic crisis and has launched an effective restructuring of state-owned business, the letter said. The two organisations unite over 1,500 Estonian companies.

EVEA awarded Sildmae 1993 "Entrepreneur's Friend" prize.

Estonian media has recently reported that Sildmae would be replaced on political grounds. Sildmae, a former member of the communist party, does not belong to any political parties.

Polls Show Majority Favoring Prewar Borders

WS0301194194 Tallinn BNS in English 1320 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 03, BNS—The Tartu-based Postimees daily commissioned in December a public opinion poll to find out the people's opinion on the issue of Estonia's eastern border. The EMOR market and opinion research center questioned 1,000 people between 16 and 74 years of age of whom 62 percent were Estonians, 31 percent Russians, and 7 percent people of other nationalities. Those polled were asked to state whether they favored restoration of the pre-war border line or would agree to a compromise.

The poll showed that Estonians were divided on the issue: 53 percent supported restoration of the border line as set under the Tartu Peace Treaty, while 40 percent were prepared to accept a compromise. The share of those supporting the pre-war border line was the greatest among the 16-24 and the 65-74 age groups as well as among the respondents who lack a secondary education. People with a higher education and those living in northeast Estonian towns were more inclined to accept a compromise.

Non-Estonians' attitudes toward the border issue differed from those of the Estonians: 69 percent were of the opinion that Estonia might accept a compromise and only 15 percent backed the restoration of the border line as set under the Tartu Peace Treaty.

The poll showed that, if the question were to be put on a referendum where all people over 16 living in Estonia could participate, 39 percent would back restoration of the pre-war border line and 52 percent would vote for a compromise.

The respondents who favored a compromise were also offered a choice between two compromises: giving up Ivangorod and the territories beyond the Narva River, or giving up the Petseri region.

The Estonians' and non-Estonians' positions differed cardinally. Most non-Estonians agreeing to a compromise—55 percent—would give up both the territories beyond the Narva River and the Petseri region. Estonians, on the other hand, are divided into two more or less equal groups: 32 percent would be prepared to surrender both territories, while 24 percent would agree to give up only Ivangorod and the other territories beyond the Narva River. Some 10 percent of Estonians and 11 percent of non-Estonians, who backed a compromise, suggested another option, while 25 percent of Estonians and 26 percent of non-Estonians failed to provide an answer.

Laar Notes 'Considerable Progress' in 1993

WS0301194694 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1808 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, January 3—Estonian economy took a remarkable leap ahead in 1993, Siim Kallas, President of the Bank of Estonia said in his commentary to commercial Radio 2.

The biggest surprise was that Estonia's exports doubled in 1993, Kallas said while adding that a three-per-cent increase in gross national product was a very good result. Kallas forecast similar growth for 1994.

Prime Minister Mart Laar told the same broadcast that Estonia made considerable progress towards normal society and state.

Last year was successful to Estonia both economically and politically, Laar said while adding that, hopefully, Estonia and the European Union would conclude free trade agreement in 1994. Estonia should also reach an agreement with NATO, Laar added.

Increased Number of Businesses Reported

WS3112130393 Tallinn BNS in English 1724 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 30, BNS—A year ago 30,431 businesses (institutions, public organizations and farms excluded) were registered in Estonia. Their number had grown to 36,900 by last June and to 41,820 by November, the Economics Ministry reports in its 1993-1994 economic survey.

Some 10,000-12,000 new businesses will be established next year, economists predict, provided the regulations are not substantially changed.

The level of enterprise was the highest in the Tallinn area with 43 businesses per 1,000 people and the lowest in East Virumaa, where 12 businesses per 1,000 people were registered. Tallinn and Saaremaa showed the biggest increase in the number of registered companies, about seven enterprises per 1,000 people in six months.

Experts estimate there will be over 40,000 unemployed and 78,000 job seekers in Estonia early next year. They predict the growth of unemployment will stop in the second half of next year. Forecasts put the number of people employed in the Estonian economy next year at 600,000-650,000.

Personal income, according to revenues from personal income tax, is the biggest in northwest Estonia—over 700 kroons, and the lowest in southeast Estonia, where it remains below 400 kroons.

Ministry Reviews Economic Developments, Needs

WS3112121793 Tallinn BNS in English 1604 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 29, BNS—The Privatization Agency with its relatively limited number of staff is unable to carry out the privatization in due time and with sufficient expertise. Therefore it would be advisable that the preparation of some of the companies under the Ministry of Economics for privatization be referred to the ministry, which has the necessary specialists, the ministry says.

The Ministry of Economics in a survey of the country's economy for 1993-1994 says the privatization process needs more decentralization. Also experts from the ministry, as well as members of state company boards and other specialists in the respective fields should be given a greater role in the process, the document suggests.

The ministry contests demands by the country's farm sector to have the priority right for the purchase of food companies from the state. The survey says farm unions and associations often prove unable to avoid early bankruptcies of these companies or sell them to other buyers soon.

The survey warns that selling shares in state companies to private individuals for the compensation bonds instead of money may lead to a conservation of the present structure of the economy. The document says supporting institutions able to contribute to the concentration of capital, such as stock exchanges, investment funds etc. must be developed to avoid this.

The Economics Ministry report shows the situation in the country's retail sector in October 1993 as follows: 54 percent of stores were in private hands, 30 percent were owned by cooperatives, and only 8 percent remained state-owned. Also more than 80 percent of the service and catering enterprises were privatized by October.

Estonia sold about 36.5 million kroons worth of state companies into private hands in 1991 and 1992 together. The sales price of businesses privatized in the first 11 months of this year amounted to more than 350 million kroons. The total 240 different companies and facilities sold under the so-called small privatization scheme accounted for 125 million kroons of the revenue.

In addition to this, the new owners have taken the obligation to put 154.5 million kroons into investments and retain 6,755 jobs.

New System of Taxes Becomes Effective 1 Jan

WS0301193994 Tallinn BNS in English 1320 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] TALLINN, Jan 03, BNS—Estonia's taxation law, which establishes excises, income tax, gambling tax, gift and inheritance tax, turnover tax, land tax, social tax and customs tax as state taxes, took effect as of the beginning of the year. Most of the taxes are regulated under new laws adopted last year.

Besides state taxes, local governments may impose local taxes that are in force only in their territories. The local taxes are to be defined by a separate law that hasn't been passed yet.

The turnover tax law, which was amended last year, didn't change the 18-percent tax rate but trimmed the list of goods and services exempt from the tax. No turnover tax is imposed on the export of goods and services. The turnover tax was Estonia's biggest source of revenues at 2.26 billion kroons.

The income tax law, which was also amended last year, set the tax at 26 percent for both private persons and corporate bodies. The income tax is imposed also on income from interest, but the parliament ruled not to apply it this year. All wage earners are likely to benefit from the new rate.

The 40-percent gambling tax that replaced the former 10-percent rate will be channeled into the state budget. It will be divided as follows: 30 percent to the National Culture Foundation, seven percent to the Red Cross, seven percent

to the Children's Foundation, seven percent to the Child Protection Union, and 49 percent to the Chamber of the Disabled.

Latvia

Russian Military Facilities Returned

LD0301162294 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1500 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Ilgonis Upmalis, head of the Latvian bureau for monitoring the Russian troop withdrawal, reported today that the Russian 15th Air-force Army handed over to Latvia the army headquarters on Brivibas Street and the training center on Slokas Street in Riga at the end of December.

According to a decision by a government commission, the Rosme state-owned joint stock company took over the headquarters building as its property and the Civil Defense and the Technical University of Riga took over the training center.

According to Upmalis, the 15th Air-force Army has been disbanded and the majority of its military facilities have already been handed over to Latvia. The airfields at Lielvarde and Daugavpils, an army command post at Adazi, as well as several facilities in Riga have not yet been handed over.

Danish Minister Arrives, Meets Pavlovskis

LD0301131694 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup arrived in Latvia today, for an official working visit. The minister is accompanied by Andres Strodbach, state secretary at the Danish Ministry of Defense, Per Samsten, head of the ministry's foreign relations department, and other officials.

The Danish delegation has already met Latvia's Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis. Later today the Danish and Latvian ministers of defense will sign a military cooperation agreement. The Danish official also plans to meet Dainis Turlais, commander of the defense forces. The guests will be acquainted with problems facing the Latvian defense forces, and informed about the course of the Russian Army withdrawal, Latvia's wish to integrate into Europe and NATO, and possible Danish assistance with materials and equipment.

The Danish delegation will also meet Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs.

Signs Cooperation Agreement

LD0301191594 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] A delegation from the Danish Ministry of Defense, headed by Minister Hans Haekkerup, arrived in Latvia today for an official working visit. The Danish and Latvian defense ministers signed an agreement on cooperation in the military field. The agreement provides for mutual consultations on issues of defense planning and strategy, as well as security.

The agreement also provides for exchange of experience and information and visits by officials and officers. Educational and practical training programs will be worked out together; other issues will be also tackled together. Denmark is the first NATO member state with which such an agreement has been signed.

Pavlovskis [Latvian Defense Minister] values the agreement as one more step forward in the formation of good relations between both states.

The Danish defense minister said that Denmark attaches great significance to this visit and to cooperation with Latvia.

When meeting Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs, the Danish defense minister expressed unambiguous support for Latvia in the issue of the withdrawal of the Russian Army. He expressed hope that it would be possible to also agree on the future of the Skrunda radar.

Haekkerup welcomed the possible participation of the Baltic states, including Latvia, in the UN peacekeeping forces. He said that this would be a good beginning in cooperation with the European security structures. The Danish defense minister promised that the issue of the Baltic states' involvement in the peacekeeping forces will be discussed at the next meeting of the Nordic states' defense ministers. He did not exclude the possibility that Denmark and other Nordic states could grant material assistance in the formation of the peace battalion of the Baltic states.

Lithuania

Brazauskas on Foreign Policy in 1994

LD0301225894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1815 GMT 3 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius, 3 Jan—"This year the basis of Lithuania's foreign policy will be partnership with equal rights and cooperation with both East and West. Orientation in just one direction is not advantageous for our country and will not yield the desired results." Lithuanian Head of State Algirdas Brazauskas stated this in his customary Monday interview on national radio.

"In my view, a very important and one of the main priorities in Lithuania's foreign policy activity is close cooperation and unity with the Baltic states," he noted.

"I do not see the sense in and reasons for revising relations between Lithuania and Russia which, I am convinced, should not deteriorate in the coming year. We hope that Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the democratic forces which are forming or have already formed in the new parliament will correctly understand this tendency in the Baltic countries to have a benevolent attitude toward the Russian Federation as a neighbor country, and will be agreeable to maintaining normal relations," the head of the Lithuanian state stressed.

Interviewed on Russian Policy

WS0301141594 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 22 Dec 93 No. 247 p 4

[Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas by Rytas Staselis under the "Opinions" rubric; place and date not given: "The President Is Calm"]

[Text] [Staselis] **Mr. President, leaders and officials of many states are commenting on the results of the Russian elections—the success of the extremist political forces. What is your view?**

[Brazauskas] I do not see such danger as others do. There are also many people panicking in Lithuania. I suppose this is unnecessary. Too much talk about a person called Zhirinovskiy would do him too much credit. Out of 443 seats in the parliament, his party has won only 80. Certainly, there will also be communists and their partners, the "agrarians," in the Russian Federal Assembly. I am not sure, however, that the party membership of most of the elected deputies fully reflects their views, because some parties and electoral blocs emerged right before the elections.

[Staselis] **Do you intend to correct Lithuania's policy toward Russia somehow?**

[Brazauskas] I think that our policy toward Russia will not change. At least, there is no definite reason for doing this now.

[Staselis]**In your opinion, are the current bilateral relations optimal?**

[Brazauskas] I suppose that we have accomplished particularly much this year in normalizing Lithuanian-Russian relations. In this respect, we have been more successful than our neighbors for different reasons. We will also pursue such a balanced policy in the future.

[Staselis] **Mister President, having been disappointed with Sajudis, Lithuanian citizens voted for the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] a year ago. In your opinion, for whom will they vote during the next elections if they become disillusioned with the LDDP, particularly if the economic crisis is too protracted?**

[Brazauskas] No, Lithuania will not have such extremist activists like in Russia (if you had in mind such an implication) who could expect a victory in the elections.

[Staselis] **Why?**

[Brazauskas] Because the community in Lithuania is more stable, and the multiparty system is more distinct. Thus, there are no conditions for extremist policies.

[Staselis] **However, can you claim that there is no political extremism in Lithuania?**

[Brazauskas] Well, it is abundant. There are many politicians who may not be like Zhirinovskiy, but who are trying to accumulate political capital by criticizing the government's moves concerning our relations with Russia, by saying: "There is no political strategy," "We must apply tough policies toward them [Russians]," "Kaliningrad Oblast belongs to Lithuania," "We will correct the border between Lithuania and Poland," and so on.

[Staselis] **Your decision to disband the state delegation for negotiations with Russia has caused a certain indignation. Did you dissolve this structure for the aforementioned reasons?**

[Brazauskas] Some people are making much noise about this issue. The delegation for negotiations is a separate issue. First of all, I have not heard of any other country possessing such a structure approved by the law: An institution comprised of randomly selected persons who are not responsible for anything. This delegation claimed that it had great authority, but with no responsibility for its actions.

[Staselis]**What is your reaction to the criticism of the former members of this institution directed against you concerning the "policy ordered from Moscow," "jellyfish," and so on?**

[Brazauskas] My assessment of this criticism is the same as over the past five years. I have been called different names all that time, and I have gotten used to it. State interests are more important to me than the opinions of some individuals about me.

[Staselis]**However, Lithuanian foreign policy has not been ideal. Sometimes it is difficult to understand why there is no coordination of action; why one minister does not know what his colleague is signing in Moscow; why the foreign minister has no documents signed by the prime minister; or why the president's office is unaware of the moves of the negotiating delegation, to say nothing of certain strange situations. What do you think of this?**

[Brazauskas] Life is life. We will seek strict coordination of action among government institutions abroad in the future, particularly among those which influence foreign policy. It is difficult to achieve this immediately. Certainly, there are some people who are used to squeezing their personal opinions or principles into some official framework.

[Staselis] **Can the new seven-member working group for negotiations with the CIS, which has replaced the state delegation for negotiations with Russia, be interpreted as your foreign policy "team"?**

[Brazauskas] Yes, this is a team that used to meet unofficially, and now it has been legalized.

[Staselis] **Are you not afraid of the accusations that you have eliminated all sorts of the opposition from the "formation" of foreign policy?**

[Brazauskas] I have not eliminated anyone. The newly created council consists of persons who are responsible for the successes and failures in foreign policy. Meanwhile, the opposition should engage in creative work in the Seimas [parliament] and express its opinion, and we will take it into consideration. It is we rather than the opposition who are responsible for our state policy today. Therefore, I do not think that the opposition should participate in outlining our foreign policy. Finishing the issue of the opposition's right to state policy, I would add that I also was in the opposition

once. I remember quite well how much our opinion was necessary in drafting state policies or how much it was considered....

[Staselis] **Currently, you are under active pressure demanding your tough stand on Lithuania's faster accession to NATO. What do you think about this?**

[Brazauskas] I suppose that this issue (knowing its difficult resolution even in West European countries) is not a matter of the non-ruling party alone. I believe that its position on this problem considerably exceeds the authority of the government and the Seimas. Therefore, a referendum on this issue is quite an attractive idea.

[Staselis]**Mister President, recently Lithuania has learned that the world Jewish community is continuing to seek that Lithuania be equalled to Germany concerning the Jews' genocide during World War II. What is your attitude toward this problem?**

[Brazauskas] I suppose that there has not been such a statement, thus, I have no definite reply. I think, however, that each similar statement requires evidence. I have repeatedly said that some Lithuanian citizens really participated in the Jews' genocide—this is a stigma of our nation. I will never agree, however, that the entire nation or the state be accused of this. I proposed cooperation in definite issues involving concrete names to the Israeli delegation during its visit here. However, we will not agree to the transfer of all criminal cases to another state. We trust Israeli and U.S. justice, and we expect the same from them.

Opinion Poll Accords Brazauskas Highest Rating

WS0301164994 Tallinn BNS in English 1025 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS—President Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania has been declared the Person of the Year in his country, on the basis of a recent opinion poll.

He won the highest popularity rating - 31 percent - in the poll, taken at the end of December by the Baltic Studies polling center at the request of the newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS, the newspaper reported on Friday [31 December]. Second to him is Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the right-wing parliamentary opposition and former head of state, whose rating is nine per cent.

According to the same poll, Lithuania's population regards the introduction of the permanent monetary unit, the litas, as the most important event of 1993 in Lithuania, 26 per cent having expressed that view. Twenty-two per cent said the main event of the year had been the final withdrawal of Russian troops, the rest attaching the greatest importance to the Pope's visit or the presidential election.

As far as events in the world go, 29 percent attached the greatest significance to the October events in Russia, six per cent to the war in the former Yugoslavia and four per cent to the parliamentary election in Russia.

President Comments on Poll

WS0301172194 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 25 Dec 93 p 3

["Exclusive" Interview with President Algirdas Brazauskas by Zinoviy Fris; place and date not given: "Chaos—Not for Algirdas Brazauskas"]

[Excerpts] [Fris] [passage omitted] Mr.Brazauskas, currently, you are the most popular politician in Lithuania. Your political rating is very high. Currently, you are first in all the polls. Tell me, please, how the former first communist secretary of Lithuania has managed to gain this authority? What is the "secret" of your political success?

[Brazauskas] You know, I have been the first secretary for quite a short time....

[Fris] However, your reforms have scared the nonflexible communist majority....

[Brazauskas] It is possible. I was a party leader for only two years. During the first year, we were looking for ways out of the CPSU membership. The second year was devoted to reforms within the party. Next, two years of opposition followed. Only the 1992 elections demonstrated surprising results.

[Fris] [passage omitted] If I understand you correctly, you differentiate between economic cooperation and the true independence of Lithuania.

[Brazauskas] Of course. We are an independent state which is recognized by the international community. Our economic cooperation is built on mutually beneficial relations. Some representatives of our opposition propose to eliminate such relations. As for me, I do not worry about our foreign economic contacts.... There is no returning to the past.

[Fris] What are your relations with Mr. Landsbergis [opposition leader]?

[Brazauskas] Mr. Landsbergis could have run in the elections, however, he did not do so for unknown reasons. It seems to me that he did not want to take the risk. As for our opposition, it is very powerful. It has done a lot for Lithuania and I cannot deny this fact. The opposition had, of course, created its own political structures when it was in power. Currently, four parties out of five represented in the legislature are in opposition to us. Nevertheless, we are working. I am trying to meet with representatives of various parties and discuss political issues with them. Mr. Landsbergis and I meet quite often and debate various issues. However, I do not see any dangers facing Lithuania, which, in the opinion of Mr. Landsbergis, is in itself threatening to our Republic. Our organs of power have been elected in a democratic manner. I invite all our people to work for the state. Let us resolve complicated issues together.

[Fris] [passage omitted] Mr. Brazauskas, my interview cannot be finished without your comments on Lithuanian-Ukrainian relations. They can be called rather weak....

[Brazauskas] To my regret, our relations are weak with many countries. The first reason for this includes broken

economic relations, privatization, new addresses, new leaders.... In addition, our governments have changed too often. In a word, these reasons are of an objective character. At the same time, however, many of our companies have stable economic contacts with Ukraine and these relations are deepening. We have several intergovernmental agreements, including the agreement on free trade. So, we have the necessary agreements but lack specific conditions. I know that Ukraine is experiencing an energy crisis and a high rate of inflation. You will overcome these difficulties. I would like to bring something new to our relations.

[Fris] Thank you.

President Notes 1993 Events, 'Numerous Problems'

WS0301165794 Tallinn BNS in English 1025 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS - Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas addressed his nation one hour before the year's end to wish every household good health, teamwork and creativity, joy and happiness.

He said that the year 1993 had seen numerous significant events such as withdrawal of Russian troops, introduction of a permanent national currency, state of the law and order reform and improved international prestige of the Lithuanian state.

The head of state said, however, that numerous problems would have to be faced in the economy, agriculture, manufacturing industries and other areas.

The Lithuanian president expressed the hope that they would be surmounted if the Seimas [parliament], the government and other power and management agencies worked responsibly for freedoms and rights, well-being and a better future of Lithuania's residents, if the new year saw less suspicion and hatred.

Prime Minister Interviewed on LDDP Policies

WS0401083094 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 21 Dec 93 No. 246 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by RESPUBLIKA under the "Opinions" rubric: "I Am Not So Bad..."]

[Excerpts] "All governments are bad, only to a different extent," said Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, occupying the chair of RESPUBLIKA's editor for an hour on Friday [17 December]. The prime minister replied to reporters' questions, taught them to be constructive, grieved over his poor pedagogical skills, bored everyone to death with his lengthy replies, and censored himself.

[RESPUBLIKA] **With which newspaper do you begin your day?**

[Slezevicius] I regret that V. Baublys, chief of the government press service, surveys only exceptional issues. I myself have very few opportunities for reading, although I used to read all newspapers earlier.

[RESPUBLIKA] **After the events in the woods near Kaunas [reference to volunteer mutiny], you signed a resolution sending J. Gecas, chief of staff at the Volunteer National Defense Service [SKAT], and commander E. Nazelskis for training to the Czech Republic. This is a promotion rather than a punishment.**

[Slezevicius] It is very good that people seek education. I do not think that J. Gecas played a great negative role in this story. Can all SKAT leaders be doomed to infinite remorse for something that occurred in one unit? J. Gecas has resigned his position. We will decide separately how to utilize his skills.

[RESPUBLIKA] **J. Gecas is the current acting deputy defense minister, and a few days ago he was appointed chairman of the SKAT officers' certification commission....**

[Slezevicius] I am not familiar with this situation.

[RESPUBLIKA] **What is the fate of V. Zedelis, chief of the department for the protection of government secrets? RESPUBLIKA has already reported about his repeated visits to the prosecutor's office in Vilnius concerning the possibilities of B. Dekanidze's [suspected of journalist Lingys' murder] release.**

[Slezevicius] His services will be declined.

[RESPUBLIKA] **You lead not only the government but also the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP]. What influence may the developing collapse in the LDDP faction have on your position in the government?**

[Slezevicius] What is the basis for your talks about a collapse? Only three people out of 70 have left the LDDP faction. There have been many complicated discussions over the last nine months. My agrarian policy not always meets with support from my party colleagues. Sometimes the latter maintain that I am too liberal, or that I lack social democracy. My reply to all critics inside and outside the party is as follows: The formation of a free market alone can ensure economic stability, while the latter allows the implementation of social democratic ideas through distribution. We are enacting this very consistently. Social tensions have eased slightly, because we have managed to achieve a real, although insignificant, increase in real incomes.

[RESPUBLIKA] **Do you believe that the law on the stability of the litas will be adopted? The draft law alone forced the Lithuanian Bank to defend itself. A future confrontation between the government and the bank is inevitable.**

[Slezevicius] If I did not believe in the adoption of this law, I would not present it. One thing is obvious: Lithuania's economy cannot be a hostage of banks, primarily commercial ones. Last July and August, the economy received a painful blow due to the ruining effect of the unstable litas. Now the Central Bank has exhausted all possibilities for ensuring its stable exchange rate. The negative effect of our proposal is that the government is losing the possibility of replenishing the budget or removing its deficit from the Central Bank reserves.

Mr. Visokavicius [former central bank chairman] has taught the government the art of banking. We realized the negative effect of the Central Bank on the economy too late. This is

my great mistake. It is no accident that R. Visokavicius was the most honorable guest at the conservatives' congress....

[RESPUBLIKA] **Who left the bugging equipment in his office?**

[Slezevicius] Mr. R. Visokavicius' reaction was strange. His statements were as though based on rumor. Maybe, he left the equipment there himself.... But this is not for the press. I am saying this by taking advantage of the right of the chief editor position.

[RESPUBLIKA] **You have submitted a draft law to the Seimas [parliament] which establishes a 35-percent income tax alongside a 30-percent social insurance tax. Are you trying to cover the hole in the budget with this terrible patch in advance?**

[Slezevicius] This law has been drafted by the social democrats, and we do not coordinate our policies with them. We are not as bad as the social democrats. We are more socially oriented. Taxes should be collected in a better way rather than increased now. By the way, taxes and crime are very much linked together.

[RESPUBLIKA] **Why is the LDDP opposing the adoption of the law on income declaration so strongly then?**

[Slezevicius] I am not well informed about the Seimas' current debates on this issue. It is difficult to follow everything.

[RESPUBLIKA] **The Seimas proposed the resignation of your appointed minister while discussing the agrarian issue. Despite your disapproval, the Seimas adopted a law on the improvement of the difficult situation in agriculture. If the opinions of the government and the Seimas were really different, how will things be with agriculture?**

[Slezevicius] It will survive. The situation was better three years ago, but we will not return to it. It is obvious that agriculture requires assistance. It is also evident that the new laws do not resolve anything.

[RESPUBLIKA] **Will you not implement this law?**

[Slezevicius] There is nothing to implement, and the law is good because of this, while the government is obedient. [passage omitted]

[RESPUBLIKA] **It seems that the current security policy can be called that of "Bobelis-Jurgelis" [chiefs of the Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee and the security service]. However, no one knows what it is like. Do you have your own idea about this issue?**

[Slezevicius] One thing is clear: We can try to protect ourselves, but we are not able to accomplish this. Therefore, our national security concept should be our integration with European defense structures. During the meeting of the Baltic prime ministers, we discussed the necessity of a better defense of our eastern borders and the easing of border regime between the Baltic countries.

[RESPUBLIKA] **Don't you think that the national security concept should advocate an increased birthrate?**

[Slezevicius] I am not educated enough to grasp the link between the birthrate and national security. I think that the birthrate is associated more with our possibilities of supplying heat and electric energy. This is what we are doing to expand our reproduction.

Russian Lucoil Continues To Be Principal Partner

WS0401105794 Tallinn BNS in English 2032 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS - The Russian oil company Lucoil will continue to be the principal partner of the Mazeikiai oil refinery this year, said Gediminas Kiesus, Mazeikiai assistant director general.

Kiesus said the Russian company guarantees stabile oil supplies and steady work of the refinery, which is very important to Western partners and banks, who might consider giving preferential loans to Mazeikiai.

According to a contract between Lucoil and the Lithuanian refinery, Mazeikiai is supposed to refine 6 million tons of Russian oil this year. Lucoil supplied only half of the amount it promised for 1993. Kiesus said Mazeikiai will refine 6 million tons of Russian oil this year if all transportation problems are successfully solved.

The refinery received 5.1 million tons of oil last year. Three million were supplied by Lucoil, 2 million came in from different commercial companies and 50,000 were purchased by the refinery itself.

In 1992, Mazeikiai refined a record low of 4.9 million tons. The refinery hopes to get 8 million tons in 1994, which is still 4 million tons below its maximum annual refining capacity.

Kiesus said Mazeikiai intends to buy more oil itself—some 50,000-100,000 tons each month. The oil will hopefully be purchased for preferential loans from foreign banks and financial organizations, he said. Loans for the refinery are currently under negotiation between Lithuanian energy officials and some Western banks.

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